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# East Europe Report

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No. 2247

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## CONTENTS

## ALBANIA

- Need To Enlist Opinion of Masses Stressed  
(Ahmet Onuzi; RRUGA E PARTISE, Sep 83)..... 1

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Polemics on Harmfulness of Rock Music Continue  
(Editorial Report; TRIBUNA, No 46, 16 Nov 83)..... 7
- Superiority of Capitalist Way of Life Refuted  
(Juraj Zvara; PRAVDA, 22 Nov 83)..... 11
- Daily Views Dangers of Current Trotskiyism  
(Nikolaj Vaseckij; PRAVDA, 24 Nov 83)..... 14
- Lenart Addresses Journalists Union on Tasks  
(PRAVDA, 17 Nov 83)..... 17
- First Aid Aircraft Version of L-410 Viewed  
(SVOBODNE SLOVO, 30 Nov 83)..... 19
- Unity of Czechs, Slovaks, Coinhabiting Nationalities  
Lauded  
(Istvan Gyorgy; UJ SZO, 28 Oct 83)..... 20
- Briefs
- Chnoupek Receives Italian Envoy 23
  - Chnoupek Receives Argentine Envoy 23
  - CSSR CP Congratulates Jordanian CP 23
  - Colotka Continues Bremen Talks 23

## HUNGARY

Pach Discusses National Development, National Awareness in Party Journal (Zsigmond Pal Pach; TARSADALMI SZEMLE, Oct 83).....	25
Socioeconomic Status of Population Research Released (HETI VILAGGAZDASAG, No 41, 8 Oct 83).....	43

## POLAND

Work of 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum Summed Up (RZECZPOSPOLITA, No 248, 19 Oct 83).....	51
Head of Orthodox Church Comments on Relations With State (Bazyli Interview; RZECZPOSPOLITA, No 251, 23 Oct 83)..	54
Ministerial Council Discusses Cultural Policy (Teresa Krzemien; TU I TERAZ, No 40, 5 Oct 83).....	59
Provincial Party Activities Noted (Various sources, 8, 9 Nov 83).....	67
Conclusion of Reports-Elections Campaign Campaign Begins With Oneself Interview With Gdansk Party Secretary, Henryk Szumieleski Interview Campaign in Small Plants, by Janusz Marciszewski	
Significance of Amended Military Ethical Principles Discussed ( Mieczyslaw Michalik; ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 21 Oct 83).....	76

## YUGOSLAVIA

Increase in Economic Crime Discussed (Salik Svizdic; DANAS, 8 Nov 83).....	81
Polemics on 'Enemy Propaganda' Aired at Struga Meeting (Natasa Markovic; DANAS, 8 Nov 83).....	88
Briefs	
Urosevac Expulsion	92
Decani Enemy Group	92
Defense Training Center	92



## NEED TO ENLIST OPINION OF MASSES STRESSED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Sep 83 pp 34-40

[Article by Ahmet Onuzi, "Let Us Assess Politically and Ideologically the Necessity of Enlisting the Opinion of the Masses"]

[Text] The entire political, ideological, economic, cultural, social, artistic activity, and activity in the field of defense, especially during great political campaigns like this year's elections for the people's councils and courts on April 24, express the people's love for and unlimited trust in the Albanian Workers' Party and the people's power, its determination to carry out the Party's policy and directives, to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, to make socialist Albania more beautiful, to to strengthen the defense of the motherland. At the same time, this activity reflects the truth that in our socialist country "there is no issue in the policy of the Party and the state on which the working class and other working masses do not express their opinion and take active part in their resolution." (Enver Hoxha, Report to the AWP 7th Congress, p. 150)

This year's election campaign for people's councils and courts as well as the everyday activity of workers, party and government organs and of the people elected in those positions, reflect the need to always keep in mind this Party instruction and to find better forms and ways, first, to ever better enlist in a more organized and more effective way the voice of the masses, and second, to carry out their just proposals, criticism, complaints and demands in regard to work and people, including those who represent the workers in the organs of people's power.

1.

During the past election campaign for people's councils and courts, party organizations and their levers including organizations of the Democratic Front, became ardent platforms where the voice and the opinion of the masses were enlisted and given attention. Meetings where people were called to account for their activity, as well as those where candidates were nominated and met with the voters, were transformed into a great people's consultation, platforms of confrontation, debates, and many discussions and proposals, in which a series of problems were analyzed and tasks were established for the success of all the activities of the organs of the people's power and courts as well as of the people elected and nominated there.

In these meetings, the voters strived to point out not only successes but also the failures and the responsibilities of others, as well as their own. The awareness of our working masses that, "The people's power is the greatest victory and the greatest weapon of the working class and the working masses for the construction of socialism and the defense of the motherland," inspires them to protect the people's power like their eyes and to strengthen it "continuously in the struggle against the danger represented by liberalism and bureaucratism." Enver Hoxha, Report to the AWP 7th Congress, p. 927. This awareness guides the voters during discussions and when expressing their opinions to set tasks for the people's councils, the courts and for the people elected in those organs, but also to pledge to work hard, take initiatives and revolutionary actions, and to mobilize in order to implement them.

In this way, the activity during the election campaign for people's councils and courts have confirmed the existence of close links between the masses and the people's power and their elected representatives. This coordination of the activities between the people and its elected representatives in the organs of the people's power shows that our people manage the country not only through the representatives they elect in a democratic way but also with their direct participation in all the problems of state management, by always expressing their views on everything.

Giving account systematically before the masses and the organs of government, justice, the economy, art and culture and the people elected or named in those positions, is an important norm, that shows that in our country the people are totally in control. The effectiveness of these meetings where officials are called to account is determined by many factors, among which the character and contents of the report delivered to the masses is of special importance. Reports which are prepared in consultation with the leadership of mass organizations and with activists, by taking into account the problems which concern the masses, open horizons for lively discussions, encourage important criticism, suggestions and proposals. This year's election campaign for people's councils and courts has enriched the experience gained in this field. The discussions, criticism, suggestions and proposals that the masses made during this campaign, like in other discussions organized on important political, economic, and social problems, was characterized by the sense of putting the general interest, that of the society or the group, above the individual interest. This is confirmed by the fact that an important place was given to the discussions and proposals for the strengthening and the vitality of the organs of the people's power, and the improvement of the method of their work and management. Many issues dealt with the timely and correct solution of economic and trade problems, serving the people, for a better and more organized supply system for the people in the cities as well as in the countryside. There were four demands and complaints dealing with individual issues.

It is the duty of party organs and basic organizations, the district, city and village people's councils, to ensure, in the future necessary attention be given to the preparation of accountability reports in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism and to encourage lively discussions regarding failures,

expressions of bureaucracy, procrastinations, and other expressions of this nature, that have been and are evident in the work of some councils, council members, people's judges and their deputies.

We emphasize this because, as the experience gained thus far has shown, to increase the effectiveness of the workers' opinion for the work of the government organs and cadres, people's council members, judges and associate judges, it is necessary to get rid, among others, of some expressions of formalism which are evident in meetings where officials are called to give account. Citizens in Tirane, for example, have criticized those district people's council members who have not shown up regularly in meetings with the voters, who have not given account to them, and have not worked as they should have to solve the problems raised by the people. The giving of accounts on the part of council members from the different districts of the city and associate judges has been especially underestimated. In some villages in Vlore and Fuke districts, a similar criticism has also been made against people's judges.

The elimination of such tendencies begins with meetings where accounts are given and with the serious preparation of the people's council members, and judges and the associate judges for these meetings. Because it is a fact that as the number of people elected to the organs of the people's power who give account before the people and struggle for the increase of the effectiveness of such meetings continuously increases, there is still a number of cases where these meetings are held rarely or when they are held, they are not as effective because accountability reports are given in general terms, without taking into account the concrete situation in the village, in the block, the neighborhood or the city, and the concerns of the people who work in those environments.

The party organs and mass organizations and, under their leadership, the organizations of the Democratic Front should not accept such behavior, regardless of how rare it might be. Not giving account on a regular basis before the masses and lack of a serious preparation for those meetings, such as not carrying out the regulations and criteria established for relations between cadres and the masses, between those elected and the voters and expressions of underestimation of the great role of the masses in governing the country, create favorable ground for bureaucratic activities on the part of those elected and for subjective judgements on their part and the part of the organs of the people's power about the problems that concern the people, be they problems of general interest or of individual interest.

To avoid similar actions that harm the image of the council members and the cadres of the people's power, it is necessary, among other things, that party organs and basic organizations, organizations of the Democratic Front, people's councils and courts and the persons elected to those organs make greater demands to always and everywhere implement the party's instructions that meetings between council members and the people be held more often and as close as possible to the place where the people live, in the city and the village, in economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, utilizing in this direction all the opportunities and possibilities. People's judges and associate judges,



for example, can and should give account to the masses not only during the election campaign, but also during the popularization of the laws or even during rulings on issues in the village, in the neighborhood and in work centers. Such accountability meetings, when they are organized discuss specific problems, become more concrete and therefore are welcome by the voters and thus better serve both sides.

2.

Taking into account and appreciating the voice of the masses, the people's proposals, suggestions, criticism, and complaints, and their rapid resolution, are the most important indications of the participation of the masses in governing the country, the exercise of their control over the work and activity of the organs and cadres of the people's power, the economy and the culture.

But listening to the voice of the masses is not an end in itself. The masses create the deep impression that they are in control when their just opinions and demands, which can be met, are carried out to the end. And the facts show that the majority of the workers' demands and proposals are not only just but entirely achievable, and it is sufficient for the respective organs and the cadres to adopt a serious attitude towards them and take the necessary actions to implement them. This was proven during the most recent election campaign for people's councils and courts, during which many of the workers' demands and proposals were met within a short period of time. The executive committees of the people's councils in districts, neighborhoods and cities, studied, during the campaign, the opinion and suggestions of the voters in special meetings and established a time period for their implementation. Through such a practice, the workers were given a speedy response to the questions they raised and, when it was possible to solve them, they took part in their resolution.

The party and government organs and the mass organizations should generalize and enrich this experience, which as practice shows, increases the masses' trust in its representatives in the government and strengthens the links between them, by regularly enlisting the opinion of the masses, and also by demanding a better accounting of the implementation of the people's proposals, demands and complaints, because it must be acknowledged that they are still examples of formalism and insufficient effort, especially when it comes to taking action regarding the workers' opinions, proposals and criticism. Some people's councils and council members in the village and in the city continue to view their duties in a narrow way. They believe that their work ends when they report at higher levels the issues raised by the voters, at a time when it is demanded that they too make every effort that these issues be correctly resolved. The people's council member, the judge and the associate judge is not simply a messenger who transmits the opinions and the judgments of the people who have elected him, but, as their representative in the government, he should demand and struggle, in the name of the people, that everything possible be realized, everything just be implemented, and everything that is not just or is incorrect be corrected. A formal and indifferent attitude toward the workers' opinion and demands lead to the constant repetition of the situation where the people, when they lose confidence in the people they

have elected or in the organs of the people's power in the village, the neighborhood and in the district, turn to highest organs of the party and the government, for matters that, with a little attention from the people's council members and judges, could have been resolved in places where the problem first arose.

The failure to correctly assess some of the opinions of the workers, even when they are of a personal nature or deal with the interests of a specific group, such as bureaucratic red tape, and procrastination on the part of workers from one office to another, even for little things, are foreign to the organs, officials and employees of our people's government. Our party demands that a harsh struggle be waged against such phenomena, even though they are rare and as such do not represent a general characteristic of the councils and their executive organs, council members and our people's judges and associate judges. Our party has always insisted that the workers' just suggestions, proposals, demands and complaints be given careful attention and be carried out with a feeling of high responsibility.

One of the important aspects in the attitude toward the workers' opinions, demands and proposals is their principled study, which is necessary in order to objectively decide what is just and what is not, which is more necessary now and which belong to the future and what is unachievable and how to make this clear to the masses. Such an attitude increases the authority of the state organs and strengthens the people's trust in their representatives.

Failures which are evident in the taking of action on workers' opinions, proposals, complaints, and demands by state organs prove that some party organs and basic organizations do not assess this problem as they should and as a result do not exercise the necessary control to implement this important norm exactly, and do not encourage and help as much as they should the mass organizations to exercise the right to demand an accounting in the name of the working class and other working masses.

The workers express their strong opinion beginning with the proposals of nominees for people's councils and courts. This occurred in this year's elections, too. And the party committees and basic organizations, mass organizations and state organs, by justly assessing, as an important principled issue, the election to state organs and people's courts of most qualified and revolutionary candidates, who stand in the first ranks in the struggle for the implementation of the party line and directives, and for the construction and defense of socialism, did a good job in studying, preparing and introducing to the people the candidates for people's council members and judges and associate judges. Meanwhile, the people, with great concern, discussed each candidate in a lively manner, expressed freely its opinion, endorsed and opposed, criticized, suggested and proposed, and gave valuable advice for each candidate and for the work of the state organs and the people's courts in general. Driven by the will to elect the most devoted people, some workers even sent letters to party and government organs, and organizations of the Democratic Front, in which they expressed their opinion on those who had not performed their duties and who ought not to be reelected. And even when the candidates were proposed and nominated, the workers expressed

their opinion by opposing and not electing those who, in their opinion, did not deserve to be elected to the people's councils and courts and instead proposed other candidates.

The people's determination to elect the best people for the people's councils and courts shows the people's great love for the people's power, the desire to strengthen, revolutionarize and democratize it more and more; it reflects the actual right that our people has to decide which candidates will represent it in the organs of the people's power.

But, the people's opposition to some candidates, which in certain villages and regions represented not a small number of the candidates nominated, as well as abstaining on voting for certain candidates who had been criticized during the nomination procedure, tells as much about the actual socialist democracy that exists in our country even in the cases of the nomination and election for people's council members, and judges and associate judges, as about a series of weaknesses that became evident in the work of some party and Democratic Front organizations in connection with the enlistment of the opinion of the masses and the implementation of the criteria established by the party for nomination and discussion of candidates for people's council members, and judges and associate judges, which are contained in the law "On the Elections for People's Councils and Courts." Some party organizations and the leadership of some Democratic Front organizations did not pay enough attention to the study and election of best suited candidates and did not solicit, in time, the people's opinion regarding the candidates. As a result of this wrong attitude, former council members, which had not justified the trust given them, were renominated, or other people, who did not have the necessary qualifications, were nominated, thus rightly causing opposition and even open votes against some of them.

The correct assessment of the opinion of the masses is closely connected with the correct understanding of their decisive role in the construction of our socialist society. Any cadre, council member, government and economic organ that always keeps in mind the party's instruction that, "The ever increasing decisive role of the people's masses in our socialist society is the best expression and the main factor in the development of socialist democracy" and that for its part this democracy "is not only a historical achievement of the masses of the people, won in the war and the revolution, but at the same time a necessity, an indispensable factor, an internal law for the development of a socialist society, and a great motivating force, that advances it" (Enver Hoxha, Report to the AWP 7th Congress, p. 115), correctly assesses, politically and ideologically, the role of the organized and effective enlistment of the opinion of the masses.

It is the duty of party organs and basic organizations, and their levers, by taking into account the rich and positive experience gathered thus far and by eliminating some negative attitudes that have become evident, to better assess, politically and ideologically, the role of the masses in the construction and defense of socialism, to treat it as a fundamental issue of the communist world view, of the revolutionary theory and practice and not to permit any deviation from this principle, whose implementation represents one of the main reasons why socialism in Albania is being developed and is advancing successfully.



## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### POLEMICS ON HARMFULNESS OF ROCK MUSIC CONTINUE

[Editorial Report] AU261408--Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 46 on 16 November 1983 carries two articles on the subject of new wave rock music in Czechoslovakia and whether it is harmful to society.

On page 4 it carries a 2,000-word article by Lubomir Doruzka, chairman of the Commission of Critics of Popular Music attached to the Czech Union of Composers and Concert Artists, and fellow music critics Ivan Polednak and Petar Zapletal, entitled "The Word of Critics." The article, which is in defense of rock music, responds to the TRIBUNA-initiated discussion and criticism of new wave and rock music in Czechoslovakia.

In the opening part of their article, the authors ask for a "professional discussion" on the merits of rock, for "understanding" for rock as the most experimental of all current musical genres, and for "social support for rock music comparable at least to the support enjoyed by the mainstream of popular music." They also caution that "leading officials, who are usually people belonging to the older generation, should realize that their notions of music and its 'correct' form are not necessarily always adequate and realistic." Therefore, there should be "greater tolerance of the divergent tastes of different generations" as "insensitive interventions and prohibitions deepen the generation gap."

The critics then respond to TRIBUNA's criticism of new wave music as in "bad taste." They argue that "the fact that something is in good taste does not mean at all that it is also artistically and socially beneficial," pointing out that "that which was new in art has often been disposed of as bad taste at first."

They go on to say: "We are excessively worried that someone may not keep to the beaten track (which often consists of the average and mediocre taste) and might make some error, do something unsuitable, or incorrect. Instead, as true socialist innovators, we should support searching, the raising of questions, critical reasoning, and the solution of real problems, even if this entails taking risks. There are still relapses into approaches that see art and various other forms of social consciousness as merely a confirmation and embellishment of [social] accomplishments."

In the subsequent part of their article, Doruzka and his colleagues speak out against making rock music the "scapegoat" for all negative phenomena occurring during rock concerts. They argue that riots also occur during traditional brass band dances, that illegal sales of posters are nothing unique and occur on other occasions as well, and that the lyrics of many operas are "just as stupid" as the texts of rock musicians. They also take issue with the "conventions" that accept the painted face of a clown but regard the painted face of a musician as "scandalous."

The authors of the article go on to discuss the negative consequences of the TRIBUNA campaign against new wave and rock music. They say: "All too many officials have responded to the discussion on rock music according to the slogan: Hands off problematic things! Within only a few months, the organization of two statewide festivals was thus disturbed, to give only one example. The repercussions in the field of amateur artistic activity are hard to estimate and must not be ignored. How many young ensembles in the regions and districts have perished in the last few months only because their sponsors or organizers, guided by the principle 'smart men need only a wink,' preferred to be cautious and played it safe! What were the feelings with which the young members of these ensembles and their listeners were receiving such decisions? I do not think that such methods are likely to help effectively fight ideological subversion. Rather, the opposite may be true."

In concluding their article, the music critics reiterate their plea for more tolerance for the mostly young rock musicians, for "patient and consistent work" with them. They warn against "easy, radical steps, if we do not want to throw out the baby with the bathwater." They assert that the "main thrust" of ideological subversion is not in rock music but in "cheap, commercial hit productions," which they deem more dangerous. They also say: "We do not defend all kinds of excesses but we do defend the right to artistic search, the right to attempt to express oneself and to present one's own image of the world. If we permit any unqualified person to determine what may and what may not be done in art, we will lose that chance."

In the same issue, on page 5, TRIBUNA carries a 2,200-word article by Jiri Janouskovec and Jiri Kohout entitled "Notes on 'The Word of Critics'." The article of the two TRIBUNA staffmembers reacts to Doruzka's and his colleagues' defense of rock music.

Janouskovec and Kohout open their article by saying that although they are not opposed to the critics' entire article, they "disagree with it in many respects" and must therefore respond to it.

They first contest the critics' views on taste and tolerance among generations: "When we assert that it is bad taste when someone sings in a surgeon's coat, wearing only tights, or in underwear and a jacket, a young person does not have to agree with us. But this does not mean that we are not right. We perceive the way in which some of the rock singers, professionals and amateurs alike, dress as an excess that has nothing in common with socialism,

as bad taste. If we are not to sin against our [socialist] principles, we must reject any 'tolerance of the generations' divergent tastes,' no matter who recommends it to us."

The authors then describe a recent concert of the group "Zentour" in Prague, marked by "unintelligible squeaks and shrieks," and ask: "In what way does the production and the very existence of such and other similar music groups make a contribution to society; what is artistic about their performance? Deplorably, the [critics'] article fails to provide an answer to this question."

The TRIBUNA article goes on to discuss the work of the critics of popular music. It criticizes that, on reading their periodical MELODIE, one gets the impression that "rock is the most perfect music in the world" and that "the life of groups playing 'hard' rock, new wave, and punk rock is flawless and to be admired." Nowhere in MELODIE, the article points out, is there a critical remark about the audiences of rock concert and their conduct or about "negative phenomena in the work of rock groups."

Speaking about other "omissions" of the critics of popular music, the article then says: "There is a great deal of discussion among musicians (and rock musicians in particular) and among a certain segment of the young generation about some kind of a second culture. What are they referring to? The activity of the so-called Jazz Section of the Union of Musicians of the Czech Socialist Republic, the dissemination of antistate songs, assaults on the basic principles of building the socialist society, undermining the authority of state agencies, and obscene and vulgar lyrics. However, none of our critics of popular music seems to have heard about this. And that is a pity as this would surely be worth noting.

"Art is partisan and class-oriented. There can be no discussion about this, not even for a moment. That is why it is understandable that the socialist society is interested in art that supports the ideals of socialism and assists in furthering and implementing the humanitarian goals which the socialist society sets itself. Let us be honest, does the so-called new wave, to say nothing of punk rock, live up to this task, on content and form?"

The article then turns to the negative impact of punk rock. It says: "Western ideology sees in punk rock a chance to infiltrate our young generation. Regrettably, they are succeeding in this among some individuals and small groups. If we agreed in only one word with what the article 'Word of the Critics' says about punk rock, we would have to abandon the idea that our young generation will ever be able to continue the work that was started by our fathers. The 'progressiveness' of the music and of the lyrics of punk groups has quite graphically been shown by the examples that were published in our weekly. It consists of emptiness and nihilism, of life without a future! Our editorial office has received letters from fans of this music. We have published some of them. And their common idea? We have no future! Is this the effect we want to achieve in exercising influence on you youth?"

The TRIBUNA authors assert they do support the "artistic search of music groups." However, they add, "we will speak out sharply against music groups whose members propagate antisocialist views among the young generation and whose activity is inconsistent with the goals of socialist education." They admit that "mere abolition of the ensembles" will not solve the problem and appeal, instead, to music critics, sponsors, organizers of concerts, music agents, record companies, and national committees to do more for the musicians' education, to intervene in the young musicians' selection of music, and to be "stricter" on them.

They conclude their article by saying: "The socialist society is interested in forestalling a situation in which the young generation of today will in the future identify with primitivism, dullness, drug addiction, and other negative phenomena that all too often go hand-in-hand with the so-called new wave of rock and with punk rock. Incidentally, which human society that perceives the young generation as the real future of its nations could possibly wish anything of that sort?"

CSO: 2400/129

SUPERIORITY OF CAPITALIST WAY OF LIFE REFUTED

AU261743 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Nov 83 p 4

[Article by Professor of Philosophy Dr Juraj Zvara, doctor of sciences and lecturer of the CPSL Central Committee, in column "On a Theoretical Theme": "Antithetical Ways of Life in a Class-Divided World"]

[Excerpts] The two social systems--socialist and capitalist--also differ from one another, among other things, as regards the way of life. We distinguish between the way of life in socialism and capitalism, and between the socialist and the bourgeois way of life.

The bourgeois way of life has a multidimensional content. But whether what is involved with one part of the bourgeoisie is a clearly parasitical way of life, or with the other part also an active participation in the government, wielding power, and making profits, it is a way of life of exploiters and an attempt to pass off this way of life as natural. The bourgeois way of life is being passed off as a "new quality of life," whose pinnacle should be the so-called American or North American way of life. However, its values are only certain quantitative indexes, leaning on the enormous, but crisis buffeted, economic potential of the United States of America, with its quantity of consumer products, and on data about the so-called average American incomes, with which it, however, conceals the huge qualitative and quantitative differences in incomes, living standards, and way of life of North American citizens. American political scientist K. W. Deutsch sees in the spreading of the North American way of life throughout the world the guaranteed path to affluence and the extinction of classes, of class warfare, and of clashes and wars between nationalities. It is being said that to achieve this it is enough to subordinate oneself to the policy of monopolies (to create a single world monopoly under U.S. leadership), and achieve so-called American incomes.

But even this global narrowing of the quality of life only to the level of incomes (money, money, and again money as the only purpose in life) will not hold its ground vis-a-vis the reality of the way of life in capitalism. And that not even in several leading capitalist countries, not to mention roughly dozens of much less developed capitalist countries. The cyclical crises arising from overproduction, unemployment--in the key capitalist countries alone there are, according to their own data, more than 35 million



unemployed--the growth of prices and of the cost of living, the decline of morals, and the growth of crime, are somehow at loggerheads with the assertions about the superiority of the bourgeois quality of life over the way of life in socialism. Against the background of the way of life of millionaires and multimillionaires, the growth of reaction and conservatism, the activity and the policy of the military-industrial complexes, which do not intend to stop even at nuclear war--as regards the United States of America in particular--against the background of its racism, chauvinism, egoism, and mercenary attitude toward man as only an instrument and source of profits, President R. Reagan's view that "communism" is not a normal way of life of human beings is absurd. The ruling circles are escalating the exploitation of the workers class and other working people to an impossible degree, and are at the same time contemptuous of human activity, and literally waste its fruits. A huge propaganda machinery manipulates the thinking and the psyche of the people in such a way as to prevent them from finding solutions other than those offered to them by capitalism.

In Czechoslovakia as the result of the socialist revolution, the reproduction of the old, antagonistic class-social structure had become extinct. The workers class, together with cooperative farmers and groups of intelligentsia, have become the source of social reproduction. This has created conditions for gradually forming the socialist way of life as a historically new quality of people's lives and activity. The old social and class barriers were dismantled, new ownership relations have won out, and work has become truly liberated (but without people being freed from doing work). After centuries of working for exploiters, the masses have attained the opportunity to work for themselves, their nation, state, community. In addition to these fundamental qualitative indicies of the socialist way of life, other things have changed too: the status of classes and social groups has become essentially equitable, and as regards the two nations and nationalities, a broad democratization in the sphere of education and culture has occurred. Socialist democracy has been developed, as well as the participation of masses in management, and the sociopolitical activity of the working people has been launched. The social awareness of the masses and the entire sphere of superstructure have changed, and collectivism and socialist humanism have been formed.

When strengthening the socialist way of life, we come across two mutually interconnected, antithetical trends. On the one hand, social conditions of the way of life are becoming equitable, and the content of substantial forms of the activities of nonantagonistic classes, social groups, and individuals connected with the general reproduction of social life, with everyday work, with family development and the upbringing of children, with sociopolitical and cultural activity and so forth is being increasingly unified. However, no uniform society is coming into being, because the second natural trend is the growth of multifaceted forms of the activity of the people, of their needs and interests.



The conditions of the existence of the workers class and entire nations are markedly changing and so is the content of the people's activity. Here the activity of the CPCZ, the leading force of our society, the example of communists, and the close interconnection between political-ideological and political-organizational work, are of immense importance. By educational influence alone, the content of the people's activities in the direction which we pursue today in particular will not change. Communists must be at the head of asserting the party line oriented toward intensifying decisive activities, particularly in the sphere of unifying the advantages of socialism with the accomplishments of the scientific-technical revolution. At the same time, however, all four subsystems--the political, the economic, the social, and the ideological--of our society, and the whole of management, must more markedly contribute to improving the content of socialist life, and to overcoming negative phenomena, stimulating people's activities, needs, interests and so forth, especially in the sphere of ensuring production and consumption.

CSO: 2400/129

DAILY VIEWS DANGERS OF CURRENT TROTSKIYISM

AU021517 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Nov 83 p 5

[Article by Nikolaj Vaseckij, candidate of philosophical sciences: "In the Services of Anticommunism; the Trotskiyism of the Eighties Against Real Socialism"]

[Excerpts] For several past decades, Trotskiy's followers have been repeating his arguments on the impossibility of building socialism in individual countries. At the same time contemporary Trotskiyites are not in the least troubled by misgivings in the situation in which historical events have cast them: for already more than 10 countries on various continents, under differing social and nationality conditions, are now building socialism.

The Aims of Arguments on the So-Called "Deformed Workers State"

The Trotskiyite theory of rejecting real socialism is based on the concept of "world proletarian revolution." In the Trotskiyites' interpretation, this revolution represents some kind of indefinite state of "permanent" struggle between the world bourgeoisie and the world proletariat, a struggle waged, solely in the international arena. From this viewpoint, the revolution has not ended even in the USSR, where the workers class has taken all power into its hands.

First conclusion: In a country where the socialist revolution has been won, the workers class can begin building socialism. But it is doomed to create only a kind of "decadent" society, in the economic, social, and political sense--a so-called "deformed workers state." On this basis the Trotskiyites refuse to consider socialist even those countries in which socialism has already been built.

Second conclusion: Trotskiy claimed that the USSR, which emerged as a "workers state," was "deformed" later, when it began building the foundations of socialism. The contemporary Trotskiyites even reject the possibility of the emergence of "undeformed workers states."

Trotskiyism started by denying the general laws governing mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale; and inevitably it came to slander real socialism. In the Trotskiyites' logic, the "deformations"

that accompany the building of socialism in every country in which the socialist revolution was victorious are bound to become a kind of "historic law" of the succession of the capitalist formation by the communist.

In other words, in reality Trotskyism has found itself on the side of those who are striving to cast doubt on the significance of the experience acquired in building real socialism and, in doing this, are sowing doubts in the minds of the working people about the possibilities of waging a successful struggle in individual countries, and thus also about its expediency. But whom does this benefit? In the first place, the bourgeoisie and its ideology, which are interested in disrupting the unity of the revolutionary ranks of the workers class.

Why Is Real Socialism Being Identified With the "Transitory Society?"

The Trotskyites are denying real socialism the right of existence. They are striving in every way to underrate its social achievements, the revolutionary changes in the society, and its historic experience. For this purpose Trotsky's followers are claiming that the contemporary socialist society is in fact the society of the transitory period from capitalism to socialism.

General Laws Governing Social Development Do Not Exclude Its Peculiarities or Its Specific Features

By realizing the ideas of scientific socialism in practice, real socialism has become an important and energy-laden factor of the present. As the first phase of the communist society, socialism is developing on a basically new socioeconomic foundation, regardless of the construction stage it has achieved. Its basic features are generally international.

The social practice of many peoples has proved that socialism, too, must pass several stages and phases before it can develop on its own foundations. Such a stage of the new society's maturity, which culminates the reconstruction of the entire system of social relations on the foundations of collectivism, foundations which are intrinsically bound to socialism, is called advanced socialism. Without the knowledge and utilization of all possibilities of advanced socialism, any further successful social progress is unthinkable.

Understandably, the process of building and consolidating socialism had, and continues to have, certain peculiarities in various countries. But these peculiarities absolutely do not exclude--on the contrary, they emphasize and underscore--the significance of the general laws that govern the establishment and functioning of the socialist society. It is natural that those "critics" who are denying these laws, are not only denying the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on socialism, but even real socialism itself. Whether they want this or not the Trotskyites themselves, and also other contemporary "critics" of real socialism who are using Trotskyite arguments, are objectively distracting the masses from the revolutionary struggle, hampering

their energy and initiative, artificially creating a theoretical chaos--particularly among the unprepared and ideologically unstable listeners--and objectively foisting on the masses the idea that contemporary socialism is an external institution and must be constantly improved. Trotskyism is capable of flourishing in any petty bourgeois environment, if no good ideological and theoretical work bars its way, or if one fails to explain the reasons why the bourgeois ideology is displaying for admiration all that is connected with Trotsky's name and with his "revolutionary followers."

CSO: 2400/129

## LENART ADDRESSES JOURNALISTS UNION ON TASKS

AU221219 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "Jozef Lenart at the Session of the Central Committee of the Slovak Journalists Union; To Raise the Standards of Journalists' Work in the Struggle for a New Way of Economic Thinking"; passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Excerpt] Bratislava (CTK)--The fifth expanded session of the Central Committee of the Slovak Journalists Union was yesterday held in Bratislava in the presence of Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party (CPSL), and of Jan Skoda, CPSL Central Committee department head. The session discussed the tasks ensuing for journalists and their organization in Slovakia from the resolutions of the Eighth CPCZ Central Committee session and the CPSL Central Committee session on a speedy implementation of the results of science and technology in practice. The deliberations were also attended by Jan Risko, chairman of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Journalists Union. [passage omitted reporting on the paper READR, chairman of the Slovak Journalists Union Central Committee, on the tasks of mass information and propaganda media and of the Union in implementing party resolutions on the implementation of science and technology]

Comrade Jozef Lenart spoke toward the end of the discussion. He expressed appreciation for the work of the Slovak Journalists Union, and also that accomplished by those editors who had already done a great deal in the sphere of organizing and propagating the science which reveals the laws governing the society and also new knowledge in natural sciences and technology. It is well that, due to them, our public is receiving increasing data on the results and application of science and technology in practice. They deserve appreciation. However, he then stated that we should be far from satisfied with this. /If we regard the demands of tomorrow, we see that we must mobilize--all of us who are interested in further developing our society--our energy for improving the approaches and for intensifying still more the focusing in this extremely important direction. Complacency, inertia, or a carefree attitude have no place in our everyday activity. They can merely give rise to some kind of shoulder-patting or head-nodding, which are always detrimental. But there is also no place there for any viewing things only from their gloomy side; neither is there place for any unrealistic

attitudes. The only proper method of correctly assessing and transforming our world is the approach from critical viewpoints--an approach which provides even greater guarantees of objective conclusions due to the comprehensive view of a broader aktiv. Such work and the precise definition of merit of the final result can, and do, yield positive results not only in combining science with practice, but also in journalism./

In the next part of his address Comrade Jozef Lenart cited several examples of successful coping with demanding technologies and techniques, of successful cooperation within the framework of CEMA, and especially of the abilities of specific people in specific working places. He recalled that this requires a correct orientation and a conscious-minded creative approach, as well as subsequent action. In this respect the Marxist-Leninist scientific work outlook--both in theory and in practice--provides a lasting source of instructive knowledge. Only the understanding and application of these principles can lead to truthful and convincing arguments which are typical for the advanced socialist society and which are the foundation of good journalistic work.

CSO: 2400/129



FIRST AID AIRCRAFT VERSION OF L-410 VIEWED

Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 30 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] Much has been written in honor, praise and recognition of our L-410 (Turbolet) aircraft. And justifiably so, since there is no other small transport aircraft in the world whose "certification" would be supported with such maximum operating safety and reliability under all weather and atmospheric conditions (even with one engine out) and on such decidedly unimproved landing strips.

It has been tested in operations in Jakutsk, in the USSR, at outside temperatures of minus 50° Celsius and started with no problem after standing all night on the air-strip apron at 60 below zero (Celsius) temperature. It has undergone testing on unimproved landing strips with varied surfaces--grass, clay, gravel, wet and soaking terrains, and even from the bottom of a dried out river.

Curriently, our L-410 UPV aircraft is being used throughout the extensive USSR territory from the European planes to the Kamchatka. And everybody, including the travellers, pilots and ground personnel like its performance. This year a new version has been introduced at the Brno engineering exhibit, this time with an expressly humanistic mission--as a vehicle of rapid first aid. Its use should enable fast health assistance even in cases where the common ambulatory transports are inadequate for moving the sick or injured and when fast ambulances or helicopters cannot be used.

This rapid first aid aircraft enables transports of up to 1000 kilometers, for example, of one ambulatory patient requiring intensive medical care and four other sitting or half-laying patients in reclining seats. The Chirana medical equipment enables qualified personnel to take effective steps to restore and maintain breathing and heart activity, stop bleeding, etc. Blood transfusions, broken bones, care of various types of injuries for example, can be attended to routinely. Its basic equipment includes a lung machine with heart massage, recording devices Chirastar, hand resuscitation gear, a set of pressurized bottles with oxygen, etc. Health personnel always consists of a medical doctor and a nurse. The entire interior consturction and appointment with medical equipment represents and new type of aircraft with specialized designation and functions.

# UNITY OF CZECHS, SLOVAKS, COINHABITING NATIONALITIES LAUDED

Bratislava UJ SZO in Hungarian 28 Oct 83 pp 1, 3

[Lead article by Dr Istvan Gyorgy: "The Firm Unity of Our Nations and Nationalities"]

[Text] In the spirit of Leninist nationality policy, the CZCP has been and is devoting systematic attention to intensifying the comprehensive development, cooperation, mutual understanding and rapprochement of our nations and nationalities. Under the conditions of a multinationality state and as a unified internationalist party, in the class, social and national struggles for a brighter future of the working people the CPCZ has fought for asserting the Leninist principles of equality and equal rights in relations between the nations and the nationalities. It has promoted industrialization and the development of agriculture in Slovakia, equality in public education, and closer consideration of nationality interests. The Slovak Communists turned against the clerical-fascist system, but at the same time they also rejected Czechoslovakism and supported the idea of a federal state which, after complicated debates and negotiations, was not accepted at that time. After the liberation, therefore, relations between Czechs and Slovaks were thus based on a so-called asymmetric constitutional model.

The victory of the working people in February 1948 ousted the bourgeoisie from power and marked the culmination of the struggle for a just regulation of the social conditions and nationality relations within Czechoslovak society. For the nations and nationalities, the final victory of the national democratic revolution meant freedom from both class and nationality oppression. We know, however, that the shaping of a Leninist nationality policy was a lengthy process, and that its assertion took place amidst struggle against various nationalistic and cosmopolitan views. The asymmetric model remained in place also after February 1948, and it was even included in the constitution of May 1948 that otherwise laid down the achievements of the February victory. Subsequently this constitutional form became the source of further contradictions, feeding nationalism and weakening the republic's strength and unity. The nationality question often was limited incorrectly to the question of Slovakia's industrialization. Incorrect and simplistic views also prevailed to the effect that the socialist system would automatically solve also the national-nationality question. The experience with building socialism confirms that the asymmetric constitutional model hampered the just regulation of relations between the two nations. The need of a federal constitutional arrangement

matured amidst complicated political conditions, and on 28 October 1968--the 50th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's foundation, and the 23d anniversary of nationalization--the constitutional law concerning Czechoslovakia's federal arrangement was adopted.

Czechoslovakia's federal arrangement meant the optimal assertion of Leninist principles in solving the nationality question. It provided room for the democratic regulation of relations between the Czech and Slovak nations based on the principle of equality, and at the same time it also offered better opportunities for the development of the nationalities living here. Our federal system's basic objective is to enable both nations to exercise their national independence, and at the same time to provide the ways and means that permit the joint state to solve every question effectively, in accordance with the interests of the two nations and of the nationalities. National self-assertion based on the principle of socialist internationalism, development of statehood aimed at the intensification of cooperation among the two nations and the nationalities, strengthening the common socialist state, and mutual rapprochement of the nations and nationalities on this basis provide the meaning of the federal arrangement. The federation has made it possible to bring the state's political control closer to the basic links of production and administration, and it has also enhanced the broadening of socialist democracy's institutional base. It has become an instrument that regulates the constitutional relationship between the two nations in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist principles. The decade and half that have elapsed since then confirm in practice that the state's federal arrangement works and may be regarded as the permanent form of Czechoslovak statehood.

Parallel with the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak federation, another constitutional law also was enacted to regulate the status of the nationalities living in Czechoslovakia. The primary objective here was to impart also to the nationalities the state-forming character to which they are entitled, to grant them corresponding constitutional status, and to express also in the constitution that the nationalities, too, are constituent elements of Czechoslovak statehood. This constitutional law spells out something that was not included in the constitution of 1960, namely that Czechoslovakia comprises, in addition to the Czechs and Slovaks, also the nationalities, and that the latter have equal rights. This principle is expressed in Section 1 of the constitutional law, which states: "In the spirit of socialist democracy and internationalism, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic as the joint state of the Czech and Slovak nations, and of the nationalities living on the republic's territory, guarantees the Hungarian, German, Polish and Ukrainian (Ruthenian) minorities the opportunities and means of their comprehensive development." Thus the principle is expressed that the country is the joint state of the two nations and of the nationalities. Furthermore, that our party and socialist state want to regulate the nationalities' status equitably, and that it is not enough to simply declare--as in the constitution of 1960--that the legal system proclaims and guarantees equal rights for every citizen, regardless of nationality or race. This principle demands that the constitution specify also the collective rights of the nationalities as separate ethnic groups. Which also enhances the social role of the nationalities, and their more perfect self-realization.

Thus the establishment of the Czechoslovak socialist federation, and the enactment of the constitutional law regulating the status of the nationalities were

an important milestone in the development of nationality relations. The practical experience of the past 15 years proves that the federation ensures the particular development of the Czech and Slovak nations, their equality in managing their own national affairs and the common affairs of the federation, and also guarantees the rights of the nationalities. This form of constitutional cohabitation takes the class as well as the national and international aspects into consideration. The class aspect in a way that is completely in accord with the interests of the working class and other workers; and the national aspect by providing for the nations and nationalities the ways and means of their national self-fulfillment. The international aspect manifests itself in that the federal organs ensure the fundamental interests of both nations and all nationalities, and through the federation the two nations and the nationalities line up with the socialist camp. The federation is a living organism that grows in accordance with the new tasks and needs of developed socialist society. Its activity will become more and more perfect as the operation of the federal organs and two republics' organs becomes more efficient in carrying out what unites our nations and nationalities, with due consideration for their national peculiarities. The processes of internationalization help to strengthen the the common federal elements and enhance the development of the national elements as well.

During this historically brief period we may boast of significant success in narrowing the political, economic and cultural differences between our nations and nationalities, and also between the territories they inhabit. We have reached a new and qualitatively higher level of nationality relations. Parallel with the all-round development of Slovakia, also the situation of the Hungarian nationality has basically changed. During the past 15 years of building socialism, numerous engineering, power, chemical, food-industry and other plants have been built also in the southern okreses. In place of a backward agriculture, a series of socialist agricultural cooperatives and state farms attest with their high yields to the rapid development. South Slovakia has now become a kraj in our country with developed industry and agriculture, proof of our common country's rapid economic growth and of its rising standard of living. Economic transformation has produced significant changes also in the social and class structure of the Hungarian nationality. With growing political equality, society's social transformation and perfection of the party's nationality policy, wide strata of the Hungarian workers in Slovakia are participating more and more actively in the ideological transformation, one of the most significant results of which is the socialist transformation of national awareness, the strengthening of the ideals of patriotism and internationalism in the consciousness of the people.

The results attained so far in building socialism prove that the level of the unity and internationalist brotherhood of the Czechs, Slovaks and nationalities living on the territory of our country is one of our greatest historical achievements. We may regard as an outstanding historical result the realization of our nations and nationalities' equality and fraternal friendship, on the basis of socialism. And the results to date in the area of nationality policy have not only confirmed Lenin's teachings, but are also shedding new knowledge whose generalization and proper application to the solution of the nationality question are of great importance in the present and future stages of our socialist society's development.



## BRIEFS

CHNOUPEK RECEIVES ITALIAN ENVOY--Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, received this Thursday in Prague Giovanni Paolo Tozzoli, ambassador of the Republic of Italy to the CSSR. During their talk they assessed the possibilities of further developing relations between the two countries and also certain problems of the current international situation. [Text] [AU221317 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Nov 83 p 2]

CHNOUPEK RECEIVES ARGENTINE ENVOY--This Friday CSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Bohuslav Chnoupek received in Prague Angel Maria Oliveri Lopez, ambassador of the Republic of Argentina to the CSSR. In their talk they assessed the current state of international relations and discussed the possibilities of developing contacts between the CSSR and Argentina. [Text] [AU221321 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Nov 83 p 2]

CSSR CP CONGRATULATES JORDANIAN CP--Prague--The Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Tuesday sent a message of greetings to the Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of its establishment. The message pointed out the revolutionary traditions of the party and its selfless struggle for a happy life of the Jordanian people, for freedom and national independence of the country, in which the communists have proved allegiance to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, ideas of patriotism and internationalism. The message appreciated the struggle waged by the Jordanian Communist Party against the aggressive plans of imperialism and Zionism, for just and stable peace in the Middle East. [Text] [LD222019 Prague CTK in English 1828 GMT 22 Nov 83]

COLOTKA CONTINUES BREMEN TALKS--Federal Vice Premier and Slovak Premier Peter Colotka today continued his talks in Bremen with representatives of the political and economic life of this federal land. He exchanged views with Hans Koschnick, head of Bremen's government, on a broad range of questions with a particular emphasis on the current complicated international situation. Examining the causes of the aggravated international situation, Peter Colotka stressed that it has been provoked by the deployment of new U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles and stated that the decision of the West German Bundestag on the deployment of these offensive weapons in West Germany has cast an unfavorable shadow on Czechoslovak-West German relations. Both representatives also pointed to Bremen's existing contribution to the implementation of the principles and spirit of the 1973 treaty on bilateral relations

between both countries and the joint declaration signed during Gustav Husak's 1978 visit to the FRG. Peter Colotka also met with Dieter Klink, chairman of the Bremen Landtag, who recalled that the Bremen Landtag was the first land parliament in West Germany to reject the deployment of the new U.S. nuclear missiles. [Text] [LD022248 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 2 Dec 83]

CSO: 2400/129



PACH DISCUSSES NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, NATIONAL AWARENESS IN PARTY JOURNAL

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian Oct 83 pp 23-37

[Article by Academician Zsigmond Pal Pach: "National Development and National Awareness"; abbreviated version of a lecture at the MSZMP Political College on 30 August 1983]

[Text] In my lecture I will confine what I have to say to two main questions. First, how does our present national awareness--in other words, our socialist national awareness or socialist patriotism--relate to our national historical development and to the earlier, past forms of Hungarian patriotism. And secondly, how does our present national awareness relate to the non-Hungarian peoples and national groups that lived on what was Hungarian territory up to World War I and, in close conjunction with this, how does it relate to the Hungarians stranded outside our present borders, to the Hungarian national minorities.

I

If we go back into the distant past, to the centuries immediately after the establishment of the Hungarian state, to the medieval Latin-language sources on Hungarian history, we already find in them the words patria (fatherland) and natio (nation). Does this mean that country and nation are sort of suprahistorical notions and concepts independent of the social system, as bourgeois historians and ideologists frequently contend? No, it does not. Initially the word patria was used in the sense of the place of residence or immediate place of birth, as in one of the decrees of king Kalman Konyves [Kalman the Book Collector], for example. That was the situation in the 11th and 12th centuries.

In the second half of the 13th century there began a process of development in the course of which the words nation and country acquired a new sociopolitical content, specifically an unmistakable feudal class content, in that they were used to express the class community of the nobility, and the country of landowners. After the suppression of the peasants' insurrection of 1514, Istvan Werboczy's "Tripartitum" and its so-called theory of the Holy Crown gave these feudal concepts of nation and country a legal form, sanctioning the exclusion of the peasantry from the nation and from the ranks of the country's citizens. Only privileged nobles were recognized as members of natio Hungarica (the Hungarian nation) or, in a different formulation, as members of the Holy Crown. Werboczy's "Tripartitum" strongly influenced not only law but social awareness as well, and thus in the following centuries Werboczy's feudal concept of country played a very important role in public thinking. In 16th

and 17th century laws, for example, such an expression as *regnicola* (inhabitant of the kingdom) applied not to all inhabitants of the country, only to the nobility.

The history of the 16th and 17th centuries witnessed also important new developments. The intellectuals of that time--the preachers, schoolmasters, and scribes--began to broaden the concepts of country and nation to include everyone living in the country, making these concepts the notions of a common homeland of the country's every inhabitant, and of their national community. What were their motives for doing this? First, these intellectuals were linked to the nobles who regarded only themselves as members of the nation but could not dispense with the peasantry's armed support, its fighting against the Turkish and German aggressors, in defense of the Hungarian state, of the feudal class that actually equated itself with the country. This was one of the motives behind expanding the concept of country and developing the notion of a common homeland. Another motive was that in the course of history the intellectuals were linked not only to the ruling class, but also to the people, the lower strata; in the stormy and crisis-ridden years of the 16th and 17th centuries, therefore, they expressed the demands also of the oppressed, of the ones striving to advance. In other words, the demands of those who were excluded from the nation of nobles but wanted to belong, to raise themselves, to the national community.

There can be no doubt that the landowners frequently used the concept of a common country evolving in this manner to mislead and defraud the serfs. They wanted to enjoy alone the fruits of the struggle waged against the Habsburgs with peasant and Haiduk arms. This happened, for example, after the death of Istvan Bocskai, when in the laws of 1608 they entrenched their class and noble privileges even more firmly against the serfs. But it is also indisputable that, in the case of the outstanding noblemen leading the struggle for independence, the political intention of winning the peasantry's support--expressed in the concepts of common nation and common country--was combined with a real desire to improve the lot of the serfs.

On this occasion allow me to cite only the most conspicuous example, from the time of the struggle for independence. I quote from the Brezany appeal that Ferenc Rakoczi II issued in early May 1703. It was addressed "to every loyal and patriotic Hungarian desiring the ancient, glorious independence of our beloved country, be he ecclesiastic or secular, noble or common, bearing arms or living at home," urging them to take up arms "for our beloved country, nation and ancient independence." And then on the border, in the Klimiec and Zavadka camps, according to a contemporary source, "he pledged that anyone who took up arms to free the Hungarian nation from its yoke would be exempt from all service and taxes." Rakoczi's words gain credence from the fact that the same year, in September of 1703, he did indeed issue in Vetes his so-called letter patent on serfdom. Although it kept the serfs who had remained at home in bondage to the landowners, it exempted from taxes and services the serfs (including also their wives and children) who had taken up arms. He did so because he was more far-sighted than his fellow noblemen and wanted to pursue a policy of reform within feudalism. He recognized the need to modernize feudal society and the feudal concept of nation, at a historical stage when feudalism's possibilities to develop were not yet exhausted. (This issue would appear differently later, when feudalism was already in deep crisis and its

possibilities to develop were already exhausted; by then feudalism's reform or, in the given context, modernization of the feudal concept of nation was no longer a feasible direction of development.)

A no less important development in the period that extended from the early 16th to the early 18th century, up to Rakoczi's war of independence, was that the serfs themselves, from their own social existence, began to develop an awareness of country different from the nobility's concept of country; they began to associate the defense of their own material interests, of their working and living conditions, from foreign aggressors also with the notion of country--besides religion--and to identify the defense of these interests with the defense of their country. And before long they began to include in the forms of their awareness of country and nation also the antifeudal objectives of their immediate class struggle against the landowners.

There can hardly be any doubts that at the beginning of the 18th century the rising peasant masses interpreted in this manner the inscription "Cum Deo pro Patria et Libertate" (With God, for Country and Liberty) on the flags of Ferenc Rakoczi II, assuming that someone read and translated these Latin words for them.

Historical sources of popular origin, notably the songs of the insurrectionist outlaws, confirm that there emerged at the time of Rakoczi's war of independence a concept of nation reflecting class struggle, the concept of "our poor country" as a country of the oppressed, as opposed to the nobility's notion of country. Let me read you a verse from an insurrectionist folksong that clearly reflects this: "We liked being insurrectionists/We welcomed it as new/We felt we were gaining liberty/Defending, freeing our poor country." And later, in a poem entitled "The Dialog of Two Insurrectionist Outlaws," the serfs contrasted their patriotism with that of the landowners and claimed that they themselves, not the landowners, were loyal Hungarians. I quote: "The devil does not fit his description/And not everyone is a Hungarian who claims to be/But time will tell/Who was truly loyal to Hungary."

These verses reveal the people's patriotism that under the given historical circumstances--we must avoid idealization--was countered, obstructed and confused by many things yet could not be suppressed, and which expressed also the class objectives of the serfs. Their efforts to alleviate and cast off the yoke of the landowners also meant their desire to be included in the nation, to join the national community, to rise to the rank of *regnicolae*, inhabitants of the country, citizens with legal rights. They really wanted a share of the common country, through the stark fact of actually owning, not merely using, the feudal fields and pastures. Namely they wanted ownership free of feudal bondage and services to the landowners. Thus the patriotic, national ideology of the late feudal period cannot be regarded as uniform. For there now appeared, in addition to the nobility's concept of country, also the notion of a common country and the popular interpretation of patriotism.

In the period of feudalism's crisis and disintegration, and of bourgeois transformation, we must note more closely the different trends in the awakening of national awareness. The concept of nation during this period is even less unambiguous, and patriotism and national awareness at the time of the bourgeoisie's emergence are even less uniform. In Hungary the period of feudalism's



crisis and disintegration lasted from the end of the 18th century up to the revolution of 1848. In our country the process of bourgeois transformation during this period was marked by different objective directions and ideological concepts. The three principal directions were: landowners were becoming capitalists; the nobility was becoming liberal; and popular democracy was emerging. Each of these principal directions had its own, often mutually conflicting, trend of patriotic national ideology. The differences and conflicts in the concept of country and in national awareness manifested themselves mostly in the manner and extent of wanting or being willing to broaden the concept of nation so as to include nonnobles in the body politic, as it was often called, to admit them into the bulwark of the constitution (another expression of that time).

If in the process of becoming bourgeois even the various strata and groups of the nobility produced and elaborated, from the objective conditions of their existence and development, different concepts of bourgeois transformation, and hence also different ideological alternatives of bourgeois national awareness and bourgeois nationalism, then the differences are even greater in the aforementioned third principal direction of antifeudal transformation, the one that stemmed from the vital interests of the social elements outside the nobility and feudalism, of the subjugated and upward striving popular forces. This applies particularly to the plebeian democratic and popular democratic directions of emergence from feudalism, and to their corresponding patriotic awareness. To refer once again only to the best-known examples, the democratic patriotism of Sandor Petofi, Mihaly Tancsics and Pal Vasvari contrasted with the prevailing limited liberal-noble concept of nation; their democratic patriotism called for consistent liquidation of the feudal system, complete abolition of the nobility's privileges, guaranteed popular rights, and--with stark realism especially in the case of Tancsics--the establishment and extensive guaranteeing of peasant ownership of land.

In this sense the democratic national awareness of Petofi, Tancsics and Vasvari may be regarded as a continuation of the insurrectionist outlaws' popular patriotism, but simultaneously surpassing it. A new continuation of a higher order that sprang from the profound crisis of feudal society, at a time when abolition of the obsolete system, and hence transcending the feudal concept of nation, practically became an inevitable necessity. A new continuation of a higher order that strived, at a particularly intense stage of class struggle, no longer to broaden the existing concept of country but, in the final outcome, to sweep it away, to create a free country, a country of the people, instead of a country of landowners. And this concept of country and national awareness may be regarded as a new continuation of a higher order also because they now contained--for example and particularly in the case of Petofi-- a new element only the germ of which had existed at best a century and a half ago, at the time of the insurrectionist war of independence: the idea that the oppressed, regardless of their national affiliation, belong together and must maintain solidarity, the linking of Hungary's liberation with the liberation of other peoples, of Hungarian freedom with world freedom.

But no matter how sharply this popular democratic patriotism contrasted with the other concepts of nation and types of national awareness in the process of bourgeois transformation, and regardless of how different were the types of

nation concepts associated--here allow me a certain degree of simplification--with the names of Count Istvan Szechenyi, the progressive aristocrat, Lajos Kossuth, the liberal lesser nobleman and intellectual, and Sandor Petofi, the revolutionary democrat, of fundamental importance at that time, before the 1848 revolution, were not the differences among them, but their similarities. All three variants of a sense of community and national awareness were progressive because all three reflected in one way or another the general interests of social progress, the actual linkage to some extent of the interests of the individual classes, the nationally valid community of their interests. To wit, all three pointed in the direction of rising above the feudal conditions that were hampering progress, toward a bourgeois society and the formation of a bourgeois national state that would overcome feudal particularism, in the direction of a bourgeois national awareness that would transcend the concept of a nation of nobles. We may state this differently as follows: at that time, up to the bourgeois revolution of 1848-1849, nationalism and patriotism were not yet separated; in many respects they were interwoven and developed jointly.

Of course--to avoid idealization also here--this interweaving and joint development had also their drawbacks. This linkage, patriotism and nationalism jointly, also meant that even the then most progressive, revolutionary democratic trend of national awareness was burdened with nationalism. This is true even of Petofi's revolutionary patriotism and his plebeian democratic concept of nation, although we know that specifically he linked the idea of freedom in Hungary with world freedom and, in one of his poems, cursed oppressive Habsburg rule not only on behalf of the Hungarian people but of other central and east European peoples as well. Not even Petofi, the patriot driven by revolutionary passion, is free of nationalist sentiments, of the idea of ranking nations, of placing his nation above other nations. He wrote, "If the earth is God's hat, then our country is the nosegay on it."

Up to 1848-1849, then, patriotism and nationalism were not yet separated from each other, and every form of bourgeois national awareness was essentially of a progressive nature. But the situation changed drastically after the compromise of 1867, i.e., after the bourgeois social order and system of government were established and became consolidated in Hungary, although burdened by the remnants of feudalism and in heterogeneous form. The connecting links among the different trends in the conception of nation were broken, and the differences and contradictions among them became decisive and of fundamental importance. Now progressive national ideology and progressive national awareness were no longer possible without criticizing bourgeois society and the bourgeois state in their established form, without combining the efforts to achieve national independence with democratic political and social reforms, without renouncing the sense of national superiority and Hungarian supremacy in relation to the national minorities.

It is no wonder that while such great historical personalities as Szechenyi and Kossuth in the 1850's and 1860's transcended in a progressive direction their earlier concepts in many important respects, after 1867 the leading circle of the Hungarian liberal nobility mostly retreated from their earlier notions. The main function of their nationalism increasingly became the perpetuation, stabilization and conservation of the established state and social system's



main features. Now their incessant appeals to the public welfare, national interest and the common interests of every Hungarian increasingly served to mask and conceal the sharp social contradictions within the nation, the fact that for wide popular masses country meant exploitation and deprivation of rights even under the new conditions of capitalist transformation. Nationalistic phrases served increasingly as attempts to relieve the internal stresses outward, in the direction of Hungary's nationalities and the neighboring peoples.

In other words, once the period of bourgeois revolution ended in Hungary, nationalism and progressive national awareness, which up to then had been proceeding together, separated and came into sharp conflict. This is where the historical dividing line between nationalism and patriotism runs in our country. Lined up ahead this dividing line are the historical traditions of national thinking, on the whole progressive, in one way or another the conceptual antecedents of our national awareness. Beyond this dividing line there is an ever-wider and deeper gap between nationalism's negative historical legacy and patriotism's democratic heritage.

At the beginning of the 20th century, and subsequently during the counterrevolutionary period between the two world wars, the history of nationalism in Hungary reached a new and even darker stage. During the quarter century of its existence the Horthy regime adopted specifically extreme nationalism as its basic principle and main tool for manipulation, practically concentrating all the motives that made up the regime's ideology: enmity toward any revolutionary or even moderately progressive movement; enmity toward the Soviet Union and the neighboring peoples; antisemitism and racial prejudices in general.

In opposition to reactionary nationalism, however, the progressive heritage of democratic national awareness also survived and grew. The progressive course of our modern history is marked primarily by the fact that in two extremely tense historical periods, in 1848-1849 and again in 1918-1919, the Hungarian people sprang into the frontline of international revolutionary movements, into the vanguard of international progress. In 1848, our people transmitted the wave of revolution from Paris, from the West to the East, in order to replace feudalism with a new bourgeois social system. In 1918-1919, our people and working class transmitted the wave of revolution from Petersburg, from the East to the West, in order to continue and develop further the bourgeois revolution interrupted in 1848 and, as second to only the Russian people, to attempt the liquidation of capitalism and the establishment of a new socialist system.

No less important is the fact that in both periods the idea of social progress was interwoven with the progressive trend of national ideology. The ideas of the 1848-1849 revolution were combined with the idea of national independence, and Hungarian soldiers were defending the achievements of the revolution in a war of independence against Habsburg reaction. And likewise in 1918 a democratic revolution created an independent Hungary, and the Red soldiers of the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic fought the imperialist intervention to defend the achievements of the proletarian revolution and the territory of their socialist country.

But we are not forgetting and cannot forget that in 1944-1945, in the third exceptionally tense period of our modern history, the Hungarian nation, regrettably, did not particularly spring to the frontline of the international antifascist liberation movement. But neither are we forgetting and can forget the deeds and sacrifices of those Hungarians whose work and lives directly or indirectly served specifically this struggle, the underground Communists, the democratic patriotic forces, the Hungarian Front, the Hungarian partisans who fought at home and abroad, and at the time of the liberation the actions of the voluntary military formations that fought against the Horthy regime, fascism, the war that was destroying the nation, the German occupation forces and their Hungarian lackeys. Nor will we forget and can forget that the day after their liberation the Hungarian people began energetically to make up for what had been neglected and to rebuild the country. In the 38 or 39 years since then the Hungarian people have worked much and accomplished much, and--despite the mistakes, distortions, detours and sidetracks--they have made considerable progress in building their new lives.

Our present national historical awareness views with appreciation and self-esteem our national historical heritage's eventful millenium that extends from the Hungarian conquest and the founding of the Hungarian state to our time, to the construction of our socialist fatherland. And our historiography, through careful and educated recording of these traditions and their differentiated and principled analysis, is striving to present befittingly and critically the mode and nature of their interrelations, and their linkage to our socialist present.

## II

Why is it of political significance to clarify how our present patriotism, socialist patriotism, and our socialist national awareness relate to the earlier forms of patriotism? And why is it of political significance to clarify how our socialist present relates to our national past? A part of the answer is obvious. This is important for political and ideological reasons, from the viewpoint of ideological training. Specifically from the viewpoint of training our youth, including formal education, and also from the viewpoint of educating the nation, of culture. Were we to regard history merely as a set of examples and to update, historicize, directly, or were we to simplify history as a black-and-white collection of ideals and their antagonists, both politics and science would be the poorer, as they were in the early 1950's, for example. On the other hand, an understanding of historical development's main tendencies, the cognition of the historical analogies and interrelations, of the historical laws and class forces, masses and personalities implementing them, can enhance evaluation of our present, and the setting of realistic and inspiring objectives for our future.

And authentic knowledge of our national past is necessary in any event to enable us to identify our position in the sequence of generations, "to find our home in this country." To understand and feel our place in a qualitatively new period of the nation's historical development that began with the liberation, but in a process that is nonetheless integrally connected with our thousand-year past. To let us see--to use the familiar technical terms--the place of our present period in terms of the dialectic historical unity of continuity and discontinuity, of continuity and qualitative change. In the absence of

such experience and knowledge, both the individual and the community are exposed inexorably to the danger of losing their mental equilibrium, of our national awareness and national public sentiment becoming hazy, of what social psychology calls a dysfunction of our sense of national identity.

From the very beginning, by now for more than a century and a quarter, our ideological and political opponents and enemies have been trying to dispute specifically the Marxists and communists' patriotism, national awareness, their sense of national fellowship. They have been attempting, in the past century as well as today, to charge and discredit the revolutionary working-class movement specifically with national indifference, "noncompetence," with breaking national continuity. For a time after 1956, they attempted to dispute even within the United Nations the legal continuity of our revolutionary worker-peasant government. Even today some of our foreign adversaries, certain groups of Hungarian emigres, and the domestic opposition are attempting to question our present "mandate," our historical legal continuity, our national competence and our sensitivity toward national interests and values. Against these inimical, oppositionary or opposition-at-all cost views, against such slander and libel, excuses or doubts, we must prove that we present-day socialist Hungarians are indeed competent depositaries of our precious historical traditions. That we are the cultivators of socialist Hungary, legal heirs of Hungary's thousand-year-old historical past, and its legitimate and competent continuators.

The practical experience in Hungary of the class struggle that the bourgeoisie and the proletariat have been waging for more than a century and a quarter on the issue of country, including the latest experience during the past quarter century or even in recent months, obligates us to oppose with principled determination any remnants of nationalism and attempts to revive it, and to speak out in our work of ideological and political education against any nationalist interpretation of country and nation as concepts that stand above classes and history, and also against any views that Marxists and communists should be reproached for their indifference or passivity toward our patriotic national traditions, or toward individual timely national interests or problems. At the same time this experience also reminds us that we must simultaneously oppose manifestations of both nationalism and cosmopolitanism. For this very reason it is of great importance to really bring to life our national traditions, free of doctrinaire stinginess and rejecting any cool detachment. And it is likewise important to criticize, sensibly and calmly, any overwrought feelings that abandon the rational and real sphere, however good their intentions.

Just as in the history of any country, also in Hungarian history the struggle between the progressive and the retrograde forces has created complicated processes, without a complete grasp of which we would be unable to interpret with scientific accuracy even our valuable traditions. Historical traditions would be incomplete without an element of criticism, giving preference to the revolutionary and progressive. However, the completeness of historical traditions includes also the comprehensive unity of the historical processes, and hence of the historical traditions as well. We are unable to understand and properly appreciate even our revolutionary traditions if we cannot fit them into the entire course of our historical development. The meaning of even revolutionary tradition can be found only in entire history. The tradition of fighting for



freedom is one-sided if it is not accompanied by the traditions of civilization, of everyday productive work, of the ways and means by which the people have sustained themselves over a thousand years. The results of man's development are contradictory; our national traditions, the traditions of our national awareness acquire real perspective only within the framework of European history, of man's universal development.

### III

The other main question of my lecture is how does our present national awareness relate to the non-Hungarian peoples, the national groups, that lived on what was Hungarian territory up to World War I; and, in this context, how does it relate to the Hungarians stranded outside our present borders, to the Hungarian national minorities.

A brief historical review will be indispensable also here. Hungary's population had not been linguistically and ethnically homogeneous even at the time of the Hungarian state's foundation. The colonization and immigration of various ethnic elements continued throughout the entire Middle Ages but did not affect the Hungarian element's preponderance. This preponderance, together with the Hungarian element's central location and its linguistic and cultural influence, provided the historical and geographic justification of the Hungarian state's character. After the expulsion of the Turkish conquerors, however, large-scale colonization and immigration significantly altered the ethnic picture of a country that had suffered heavy losses. Taken jointly, the various Slavic peoples, Germans and Romanians already accounted for more than half of the country's population in the period (beginning in the last decades of the 18th century) when feudalism found itself in deep crisis and--as we have indicated earlier--bourgeois capitalist conditions began to evolve. All this brought to the surface and then intensified the national and nationality question in the Danube basin. (Let me note parenthetically that data on the breakdown of Hungary's population by nationality, or rather by native language, became available only later, in the census of 1869. We have only approximate estimates of the proportions of the nationalities prior to this census. There are census figures for three years in the late 18th and early 19th century: for 1787, 1804 and 1828.) In this period the Hungarians remained the country's largest nation, but they were no longer in an absolute majority: Hungarians accounted for 39 to 40 percent of the population on the entire territory of historical Hungary at that time; without Croatia, which constitutionally was independent, but with Transylvania, the proportion of Hungarians was about 44 percent.

As I have noted in the first part of my lecture, this was a period in which various strata and groups of the Hungarian nobility, which was becoming bourgeois, developed various concepts of bourgeois transformation, and mutually different conceptual alternatives of bourgeois nationalism. Regarding the non-Hungarian peoples and nationalities living in Hungary, however, the Hungarian leading strata and groups were essentially in almost complete agreement. Namely in their efforts to preserve the territorial integrity of multinational Hungary, to maintain the Hungarian nation's supremacy and hegemony over the co-inhabiting nationalities. In a historically and psychologically understandable, but objectively conservative and retrograde manner. Allow me to illustrate this last sentence in greater detail.

In spite of their differing concepts of nation, the landed gentry, its every stratum, and even others outside this class were virtually unanimous in their efforts to maintain Hungary's territorial integrity, and Hungarian supremacy over the non-Hungarian peoples. We should add, however, that these generations were born into Hungary's territorial integrity. That was the framework within which a long line of generations had lived for centuries. The division into three parts in the 16th and 17th centuries, which had interrupted this state of affairs for a century and a half, was long a thing of the past (although the formal separation of Transylvania was maintained until 1848). In any event, partition had not been a result of antagonism between nation and nationalities, such antagonism still being unknown at that time, but of foreign aggression, of Turkish conquest. Thus the situation that existed, and which necessarily included Hungarian hegemony over the non-Hungarian peoples, seemed natural to the generations at that time, an unalterable framework in which they lived, and simultaneously an unalterable standard of their thinking and set of values. They were unable to even imagine that things could be different.

What they thought about was not how, in which direction, the existing situation should be changed in view of the nationalities' growing proportion, rather what should be done to keep the political situation from changing, to preserve it unchanged, to protect it from change even when the proportion of the non-Hungarian population jointly had already increased to more than 50 percent. And what was the more immediate threat from which the reform period's politicians and thinkers wanted to protect this multinational state? First of all, from czarist Russia's expansion into central Europe. They thought and feared that the country's growing and mostly Slavic nationalities would themselves gravitate toward their largest sister nation, the Russian. And there were indeed also Pan-Slavic trends among the country's Slavic nationalities. But this was not the principal direction in which national development tended in the 19th century. It tended in the direction of not supranational empires--those had been the products of the Middle Ages--but of the evolution of independent national states. Thus the characteristic aspiration of the nationalities living in the country was to gravitate toward their neighboring sister or parent nation, and to form a common state with it.

This process of growing national awareness among Hungary's nationalities and neighboring peoples, eventually a process directed toward the formation of independent national states, was an inevitable and law-conforming part of socioeconomic development, just as the awakening of Hungarian bourgeois national awareness, Hungarian bourgeois transformation, had been a natural, law-conforming and progressive part of socioeconomic development. Consequently, when the Hungarian ruling classes, clinging to integrity and supremacy, opposed this process, they opposed an objective and progressive trend of historical development. This is what I meant by "in a historically and psychologically understandable, but objectively conservative and retrograde manner."

Let me add that this retrograde unity of the Hungarian ruling circles on the nationality issue, their opposition to the self-determination aspirations of the non-Hungarian peoples living in Hungary, became even more complete after the Austro-Hungarian compromise of 1867 that ended the period of bourgeois revolution, in the period of dualism, during the Habsburg empire's last half-century. Here are some figures to prove this. In the period of dualism, from



the compromise to World War I, the breakdown of the country's population by nationality improved somewhat in favor of the Hungarians. Including Croatia and Slavonia, 41.2 percent of the population gave Hungarian as their native language in 1869, but 48.1 percent did so in 1910. Without the codominion of Croatia and Slovenia, however, the proportion of the population that claimed Hungarian as their native language was 46.6 percent in the 1869 census, but 54.5 percent in the 1910 census. In other words, the Hungarians already were in an absolute majority.

What were the underlying processes of these changes in proportion? One was that in 1804, and for some time thereafter, the Jews in Hungary were enumerated as non-Hungarians. Their number exceeded 900,000 by the turn of the century. They became assimilated to a large extent, and in the 1910 census practically all gave Hungarian as their native language. Regarding the nationalities in a strict sense of the word, there was some assimilation also in their case. However, the extent of this assimilation must not be exaggerated. More important was the objective demographic fact that the natural growth rate of the non-Hungarian population was lower than that of the Hungarians. During the period of dualism, the lowest natural growth rate was that of the Romanians in Transylvania (it was the lowest not only in Hungary, but in the Austro-Hungarian empire as well). Furthermore, also the rates of emigration differed, something we long failed to clearly recognize. The large-scale emigration of 1.5 million people affected the nationalities (as we very well know, the Slovaks in particular) far more severely than the Hungarians.

These and similar factors explain the slight improvement of the proportion of Hungarians within the population during the period of dualism. But nearly half the population remained non-Hungarian. (Naturally, the census data from the period of dualism and thereafter must be taken with a degree of caution. They cannot be regarded as highly accurate already because they were based not on nationality, but on what native language the enumerated respondents claimed. And we know very well that the native language a respondent professes as his own is influenced by the direct, indirect and other effects of the existing political system.)

However, the ruling circles of the 1867 political system did not confront with complete perspicuity the pressing demographic, social and economic problems of the Hungarians and non-Hungarians, and this is true also of the still nearly 50-percent proportion of the nationalities. Or if they did face this latter problem (and it is the one we are particularly interested in at present), they did so only from the viewpoint of how a political change could be avoided and the status quo preserved, by obstructing the nationalities' aspirations to independence and self-determination. And here I must add that this behavior of the ruling circles can be termed even more negative in the period of dualism than before 1848. For in the meantime the process of national development and growing national awareness in central and eastern Europe had made considerable progress. The signs of this were far more pronounced than they had been, say, in the 1820's and 1830's. I might also add that a certain Pan-Slavic threat had not vanished, or did not seem to have vanished, but czarist Russia's expansion was arrested in the 1850's, beginning with the Crimean War. However, in the 1850's to the 1870's the process of gaining independent statehood accelerated considerably in Romania and Serbia, the neighboring nations that did or

could exercise attraction. At the Berlin Congress of 1878 we already find the kingdom of Romania that had been formed by the union of Wallachia and Moldavia. And Serbia, liberated from Turkish rule, was also there.

And if we now examine how the standpoint of the Hungarian ruling circles, of the liberal nobility's leading stratum, developed by contrast--even of the most progressive leaders who retreated the least from the noble principles of liberalism, such as Ferenc Deak around 1867, or Baron Jozsef Eotvos in particular--we find two principal elements in their standpoint.

First, the requirement of relying on the Habsburg monarchy to retain hegemony over the entire country and against czarist Russia's expansion. This requirement was realized in the compromise and the dualistic system. The Hungarian ruling class was completely unanimous on this issue. Czarist Russia's policy of expansion posed a real threat at that time (although it subsided after the Crimean War), and in its own way the reactionary Habsburg monarchy provided realistic protection from this threat. It was reactionary in the sense that the monarchy by its very existence opposed the inevitable processes of becoming independent, in all of its many nations on both sides of the Leitha River.

The other principal element is illustrated by the Nationality Law, law No 44 of 1868, enacted one year after the compromise. A passage of fundamental importance is frequently quoted from this law. It states that in Hungary "there is a single political nation, the unified and indivisible Hungarian nation," and within this single political nation there are Hungarian-speaking Hungarians, Romanian-speaking Hungarians, German-speaking Hungarians, etc., and they all are citizens with equal rights. The entire history of this law's enactment was researched, and it was established that specifically the liberal Ferenc Deak had played a leading role in the final wording of this passage, and that essentially also Jozsef Eotvos had agreed with it.

Well, what was the standpoint of Deak and Eotvos regarding the nationalities in Hungary? They thought that the nationalities should be recognized as citizens whose status was equal to that of the Hungarians, with personal, civil and human rights and equality before the law for everyone in the country, regardless of language, nationality or religion. They felt that these personal freedoms, the liberal transformation in itself, would automatically resolve the nationality problem. They more or less shared also another illusion (for their above view, too, was an illusion): that the nationalities would partially draw closer to, and would want to assimilate into, the more advanced state-forming nation, the culturally superior Hungarians. This was another false and harmful illusion.

In spite of all this--and thanks mainly to Eotvos and Deak--the Nationality Law of 1868 guaranteed also certain language, educational and nationality rights, but subsequently these rights were enforced less and less, and some of them were even rescinded. Albert Apponyi's Education Law of 1907, for example, restricted considerably the use of the nationality languages in education; he did not leave assimilation to cultural superiority and employed much cruder means instead. Thus the earlier illusions, the liberal hopes and beliefs gradually lost their glitter and disappeared, and the tenet of "a single unified

Hungarian nation" was reduced essentially to a modern version of the old concept of *natio Hungarica* comprising the nobility, to the principle of retaining political power by every means. This was the formula that the politicians and ideologists of the ruling classes voiced and applied in practice by increasingly harsher and more drastic means in the early 1900's.

The subsequent severe trauma, the defeat in World War I and inexorable history embodied in the Treaty of Trianon that the imperialists had dictated, left them no wiser. Dispossessed after Trianon, they essentially continued to do what they had been doing when in possession. The principle of Hungarian cultural supremacy now reached full bloom, obviously at a time when direct instruments of power were no longer available. The phrase "mutilated Hungary is not a country, whole Hungary is heaven" appeared in every school bulletin and textbook. And the old Latin saying that a small drop, by falling frequently, can erode a rock was true. The persistent purposefulness with which the counter-revolutionary regime's ideological and political apparatus propagated similar slogans during the quarter century of the Horthy era is common knowledge.

If we take a closer look at Hungarian policy on nationalities during that period, we find first of all that the revision the Hungarian ruling circles included in their program and propaganda to remedy the injustices of the Treaty of Trianon was not based on the ethnic principle. In a recent debate in the press, in conjunction with Pal Teleki's truly more reasonable nationality principles, the proposition was advanced that his concept, like that of Istvan Bethlen, included the objective of a peace-treaty revision based on the ethnic principle. Not so! The idea and program in question called for integral revision, wanting to restore hegemony over all the non-Hungarian peoples on the territory of pre-war Hungary.

Another expectation that led the ruling circles during the Horthy era was the illusion that international developments would permit integral revision, with the help of a protector power. We all know how they sought such a protector, at first in the West already in the 1920's, then in the South, and finally Hitler's Germany became this "protector." And if we had to reproach such great minds and progressive thinkers in the period of dualism as Deak and Eotvos for believing that the nationalities partially wanted to assimilate, I do not know what we should say about the outstanding intellectuals of the Horthy era who fostered the blind and unfounded illusion that the seceded nationalities were longing to be back under the scepter of Hungarian hegemony. For if you read the writings of Istvan Bethlen or Pal Teleki, or even the 1934 writings of Gyula Szekfu--the same Gyula Szekfu who wrote "A Harom Nemzedek es Ami Utana Kovetkezik" (Three Generations and What Follows)--you gain the impression that the Croats did not want to belong to the Serbians but to Hungarians, that the same was true of the residents of Burgenland who now belonged to Austria, etc. To this we must add that, in the interest of integral revision, both Istvan Bethlen and Pal Teleki emphasized: if the opportunity arose, it would be necessary to pursue a fair and understanding nationality policy toward the nationalities who again belonged to the Hungarian state. Well, the time came, if not of integral revision then of territorial gains by the grace of Hitler, and the Hungarian ruling circles under the Horthy regime again demonstrated that they had forgotten much of their promises about fairness and had not



learned anything. I think it will be unnecessary to refer to the events in Subcarpathian Russia, Ujvidek or elsewhere. In a work published in 1947 and entitled "A Forradalom Utan" (After the Revolution), Gyula Szegfu exercised sharp criticism and also self-criticism: he condemned the Hungarian ruling circles who preached a fair nationality policy but "forgot" about their promise when they had opportunity to do something about it, thereby completely discrediting themselves.

And if now we finally seek the main basic principle or common core of the most diverse types of nationalism, all of them--from the most rabid through the less rabid to most reasonable--contain the following idea: we are destined for greater things than other nations here in the Carpathian basin. In contrast to this nationalistic principle there is the principle of national awareness, in its classically beautiful, idiomatic Hungarian form in which Miklos Zrinyi expressed it in the 17th century: "we are not inferior to any nation."

#### IV

Although Miklos Zrinyi formulated the mentioned principle already in the middle of the 17th century, we must admit that even today it is not easy to assert it consistently in every respect against the nationalistically tinted element. Here we must part with the old ingrained views, prejudices and emotional mechanisms that filled the minds of generations with the tenet of being "destined for greater things," and the emotional and ideological roots of which have not been and are not easy to sever. First of all we must break away from harmful reminiscences of the period of dualism and of the spirit of counterrevolutionary Hungary; how difficult a task this is can be seen also from the fact that prejudices can cling even to valuable and good traditions. It has not been easy to travel the road of ridding ourselves of prejudices, and it is not easy even today. This requires perseverance and consistency in asserting the principle of national awareness against the principle of nationalism. But we must travel this road, if for no other reason, because it and only it can give us a scientific, moral and political justification to speak out today against any manifestation of nationalism, no matter from where it might come.

We must face the facts: today the problem of nationalism's remnants or revival is not specific to our country. It is a problem also in some of the neighboring countries where old conditioned responses are just as reinforced as in our country, and even new conditioned responses have been added to them. Such conditioned responses, both here and there, cannot be treated or understood separately, because they can and do interact. Thus we must confront them in full awareness of their interaction and mutual excitation. Hungarian historians, for example, regard it as their essential task to dispute certain views of their foreign colleagues regarding historical developments in the Danube basin, and to present with scientific arguments the real historical processes, mainly in the professional literature and at scientific conferences, and occasionally before the wider public as well.

But we must not lose our temper even in the heat of debate. We must strictly adhere to our Marxist-Leninist ideological standpoint, to the principle that both theory and practice have taught us. We on our part will not rehabilitate under any circumstances elements of nationalist thinking or sentiment, and will not restore them to the arsenal of our ideological, scientific and political

response. Against the symptoms of nationalism we will not employ in any case a similar cure, for only the old ironic proverb recommends taking a hair of the dog that bit you. In other words, we will not fight nationalism with some kind of counternationalism. On this issue our party is thinking more comprehensively, circumspectly and responsibly than certain representatives of our literary public life who today are responding in a nationalistic manner to certain real questions. We definitely disclaim such responses; we cannot and will not let ourselves be swept into such a dance, the more so because that would only serve our political and ideological opponents. These are not empty words but facts. For there are forces who would like nothing better than to see within the socialist community conflicts and problems around which, in their opinion, some sort of domestic opposition might rally.

Nor can we agree to simply disregard in a "sovereign" manner lessons that history has confirmed repeatedly. I will mention a few such lessons.

Habsburg policy in 1848-1849 took advantage of the Hungarian government's failure to comprehend the national aspirations of the coinhabiting non-Hungarian peoples in the Carpathian basin and turned most of them against the Hungarian bourgeois revolution. And what did this lead to? Not much time was needed to realize that Habsburg absolutism was rewarding the non-Hungarians with the same treatment that it was meting out to the Hungarians as punishment. (This lesson had been formulated already by the contemporary Ferenc Pulszky.)

Allied policy in 1919 took advantage of the unsolved nationality problem's tensions and was able to line up the armed forces of the neighboring countries against the Hungarian socialist revolution. And what did this lead to? The political rearrangement of central and eastern Europe after World War I, which brought the peoples of the Danube basin not freedom, but the perpetuation and intensification of social and national inequality. To mention the most sensitive issue: after the revolutions in the autumn of 1918 that overthrew the crumbling Habsburg monarchy, the Romanian bourgeois landowner regime succeeded Hungarian bourgeois rule in Transylvania in such a way that in Hungary it helped Horthy's counterrevolution to victory, while against the large Hungarian population on the territory annexed to Romania it employed forms of oppression that differed from the previous forms of oppression against the Romanian nationality only in their sign.

In the period between the two World Wars--and this again is a lesson that we can disregard only if we close our eyes to reality--the Batrachomyomachy in this region, the political, economic and ideological squabbling of small countries' opposing nationalisms, was both terrible and ridiculous. Between Hungary and Romania, for example, the dominant and fashionable trend among political writers in both countries was to present the claims and injustices of one's own side as absolutely true, and to brand those of the other side as absolutely false, thereby infecting and poisoning public opinion in both countries. The demagogic slogans of the Horthy regime could easily gain acceptance when the royal government in Romania was Romanianizing by force, and the leading circles of the Romanian kingdom could easily say that the aristocrats who were in power wanted not so much to redress the injustices the nation had suffered as to reclaim their Transylvanian estates. And what did this Batrachomyomachy lead to?



Both countries became unable to defend themselves against great-power nationalism and expansion by the Third Reich, and both became stooges of German fascism. Hitler was able to skillfully exploit the strife and enmity between Hungarian and Romanian nationalism. It will be remembered that he awarded Horthy the northern part of Transylvania while simultaneously bringing Antonescu to power in Romania. He had them keeping each other in check and shamefully competing for his favors. And if Horthy's administrators oppressed the Romanians living in the northern part of Transylvania, the Antonescu regime took its revenge on the Hungarians living in the southern part of Transylvania.

This was a period in which the nationalities in either country did not constitute bridges to the other country but were held hostage. There was only one issue on which the Hungarian and Romanian fascist agreed, but on that they agreed completely: the persecution and jailing of communists and other democratic forces. On this issue their national-nationality differences vanished. Regardless of which side of the border they happened to be at the given time, the communists and other advocates of progress, whether Hungarians, Romanians or members of other nationalities, suffered together and stood accused together before either the Hungarian or Romanian courts.

But the cream of both nations stood and fought together against every form of fascism, for social progress and national independence. Let us recall also such historical traditions as the peasant war of Antal Budai Nagy and Gyorgy Dozsa, under whose flags Hungarian and Romanian peasants fought side by side. And the fact that in 1848-1849 a few people, although the most far-sighted, attempted to establish Hungarian-Romanian cooperation. And also the joint historical traditions of internationalist struggle in 1917, by Hungarians, Romanians and other nationalities in the same camp, for the defense and consolidation of Soviet power that the Great October Revolution had created. We honor them as the pioneers and disseminators of friendship between our two nations, of basing our mutual relations on a new foundation.

For their efforts to take root and thrive, there had to come a new turn in the course of world history in 1944-1945. The Soviet Union's victory over fascism, the liberation of the countries in the Danube basin, the successful popular democratic revolutions, and the construction of socialism in our countries provided the opportunity for this. However, and this is an important qualification, it is not so easy for opportunity to become reality, and not so simple as we had imagined at the time of our liberation, or even in the late 1940's and early 1950's. We thought and hoped then that we would soon be able to overcome our negative historical legacy and to build a socialist society. At the same time we fostered the hope and imagined that socialist transformation itself would solve, as if automatically, the nationality problem in the Danube basin.

In spite of the significant differences, let me note here that in certain respects we fostered the similar illusions as the great liberals of the mid-19th century, Jozsef Eotvos and Ferenc Deak, had. As we have seen, they believed that bourgeois transformation and the guaranteeing of liberal bourgeois freedoms to every citizen would automatically solve the nationality question in central and eastern Europe. And we believed, or partially believed, that socialist transformation and guaranteeing socialism's economic, social and cultural achievements to every citizen would by themselves solve automatically

the nation-nationality question. We did not believe things like the non-Hungarian nationalities' wanting to assimilate or their longing to return to the Hungarian state's bosom. However, in our circles there was an honorable but unrealistic and abstract internationalist illusion that national borders would somehow become ethereal and lose their significance in the course of socialist transformation and development.

Today we see these questions more realistically. First of all we see that far more time, more work, more patience and greater effort are needed to realize the construction of socialism. Secondly, we see and know that throughout an entire and quite long historical period the construction of socialism will proceed within national frameworks of national economies and national states, and therefore national borders will long retain their role and significance. And thirdly, we see in conjunction with the nation-nationality question that the landmines laid over long centuries cannot be completely defused immediately, and that the nation-nationality problems that have accumulated over a longer period of time cannot be solved overnight. But neither can we disregard them, their remnants and revival.

Here we should note and inscribe in our memories as a fact of realpolitik that after World War I the League of Nations adopted a so-called system for guaranteeing the rights of minorities, but it proved ineffective in practice and fascist power abused it. For this reason--and for other reasons that we are unable to discuss on this occasion--the United Nations did not restore this system after World War II. Instead, it laid down in its charter the principle that the question of minorities was the sovereign internal concern of each state. And this principle was incorporated into the texts of the peace treaties as well.

In agreement with the governments concerned, the Hungarian People's Republic will provide assistance in suitably supplying the educational, cultural and other needs of the Hungarian national minorities living outside Hungary, including instruction in their native language. Lately this practice of nationality policy has been formulated in more or less detail also in international agreements between Hungary and the neighboring countries. We on our part can urge with complete legal, moral and political justification the adoption of such a practice of nationality policy. For the MSZMP and the government of the Hungarian People's Republic are studying closely the situation of the nationalities living in Hungary and are actually carrying out Lenin's nationality policy. They profess--and act accordingly in practice--that the nationality questions, within the general questions of building socialism, require special attention, understanding and care. This is not an automatism! This too stems from the essence of socialism. As do, of course, also our efforts to provide more and more favorable conditions for the Germans, Slovaks, Yugoslavs and Romanians living in our country to exercise their nationality rights, and to offer them every opportunity they need to preserve and enrich their native language, traditions and culture.

In our opinion--and the resolution of the 12th MSZMP Congress also refers to this--the free development of bilingual and bicultural individuals who have a suitable civic awareness and also a healthy national-nationality awareness, who

are loyal to the given state and at the same time maintain and foster their sense of identity with their parent nation, can be an important element in solving the nationality question in the spirit of internationalism here in the Danube basin, in Hungary as well as beyond its borders. We Hungarians are striving to promote the unfolding of this principle of nationality policy so that it may gain ever-wider and more general practical application. And then perhaps sooner or later we will be able to achieve what today the many articles, essays and political documents formulate as a requirement rather than a fact: that the nationalities of neighboring countries fulfill increasingly the role of a bridge between neighboring nations, helping to bring them closer to each other.

Allow me to conclude the discussion of the second group of questions, and the lecture itself, with an idea of Lenin's that for a long time received little attention. Today we understand much better the comment that I will now quote from the 30th volume of his collected works: "Socialist production is unquestionably necessary as the basis for ending national oppression, but a democratic state organization on this basis is likewise essential. When the proletariat builds socialism in place of capitalism, it thereby creates the possibility of completely ending national oppression. But this possibility will become reality 'only!' (the quotes and exclamation mark are Lenin's) when democracy will have been achieved in every area."

National dislikes do not disappear so rapidly. They will vanish completely only after the victory of socialism, once there are completely democratic relations between and within nations. In other words, the less democratic the organization of a state, the greater the likelihood of nationality grievances and also of antipathies. And conversely, the more developed socialist democracy in general, the more likely the elimination and disappearance of nationality grievances and also of antipathies. Thus solution of the nation-nationality question cannot hinge on anything other than socialism, the development of socialist democracy, and the fate of socialism.

1014

CSO: 2500/66

HUNGARY

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF POPULATION RESEARCH RELEASED

Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian No 41, 8 Oct 83 pp 4-6

[Article: "Class Differentiation; Social Status and Stratification" including two separately boxed inserts: "Dimensionalized Strata" and an interview by Agnes Tibor entitled "Researcher Response"]

[Text] How many people live better or worse than the average? Based on their situation, how many people are in an identical position in the social hierarchy? In a word, the latest portion of the study conducted by the Institute of Social Sciences which lasted 2 1/2 years investigates the interrelationships of social status and stratification and is now being professionally evaluated. We are unable to report the research results in their entirety because of space considerations; however, here we have published the conclusions we consider to be most interesting.

Fifty-five percent of Hungarian families never invite guests to lunch or dinner; in 21 percent of the families, no one gives or receives Christmas presents. Nearly every second family has less than 100 books; barely one-third of the families took a vacation in the last 3 years; however, 4.1 percent have travelled abroad several times during the past 3 years. 62.2 percent of the families do not visit any sort of cultural institution; 8.5 percent have winter coats that are more than 5 years old, or none at all; at the same time, 15 percent buy clothing abroad and have winter coats that are at most 1 year old. 15 percent of the adult population does not go to a hairdresser or cosmetician and 8 percent does not use shampoo, cologne or deodorant.

The above statements are not estimates but are taken from the recently completed working study by the Institute of Social Sciences entitled "Status and Stratum". Assuming that several factors determined the position occupied by each person or family in society, the research group endeavored to map the arrangement of the Hungarian population in the social hierarchy on the basis of a relatively large representative population sample of 16,000. Although the population and status groups developed on the basis of the research do not follow each other in hierarchical order, they clearly show the existence in present-day Hungary of upper social groups--having an advantageous position in every respect--and



lower social groups--having a disadvantageous position in every respect as compared to the others.

Nearly 6 percent of the country's population--designated the "elite" by the researchers--is significantly differentiated, i.e., the differences within the group are relatively pronounced. For the most part, it is composed of "higher intellectuals"--to use the forced comprehensive expression in the study--who enjoy (and are able to procure) several types of advantages. The smaller portion of the highest stratum which accumulates advantages is composed of a stratum of well-to-do workers.

According to the viewpoints of the study, 20 percent of the population is in a disadvantaged position, i.e., in general, they are the most backward, from their incomes to their cultural lifestyle. Characteristically, the living situations of those belonging to this group hardly differ from each other. The majority of the "upper 500,000" live in cities, buy much and selectively, go to the theater and attend concerts, regularly take long vacations, and own vacation homes. Ninety percent of the "lower fifth" live in villages, in houses without amenities, are poorly and badly nourished and dressed, and the only representative of printed and broadcast media in their lives is the television.

The study concluded that Hungarian social structure has been significantly altered in the past few decades. Consequently, the traditional social class structure which was also utilized in domestic sociology is increasingly dissolving. For example, the lifestyle, financial and cultural position, social position and working conditions of workers and peasants are increasingly less divergent, although on the other hand, there is still a great difference between villages and cities in several respects. According to the results of the study, from the viewpoint of social position, more significant than class differences today in Hungary is, for example, who the director is, who the subordinate is (i.e., the position occupied in the division of labor) and more importantly, the extent to which individuals are able to assert their interests. According to the researchers, what is more illustrative of people's positions than class membership is who does or can take advantage of modern culture, and who does not, i.e., whether they do (or can) go to the cinema and the theater, whether they do (or can) read books or whether only the television, radio and newspapers represent (or can represent) modern culture for them.

According to the study, two-thirds of the population is in the so-called "status non-qualifiable" position. This means that, for example, although many have emerged from the poor stratum, they still have not (or could not) overcome their cultural disadvantages. Others, however, primarily in the cities, although their housing situation is worse than average and their financial situation is somewhat better than average, belong to one of the upper groups by virtue of their social status.

In the past, if someone were to reveal his father's name and place of birth, it was possible to deduce his social status with more or less certainty. The study states that today it would hardly be possible to select one such indicator. Perhaps the dimension labeled cultural customs is still the most suitable for



Percentile Distribution of Population Groups Having Different Educational Levels According to Status Groups in 1981 \*

Education	Elite	Upper Urban Stratum	Upper Rural Stratum	Prosperous Rural Workers	Prosperous Urban Workers	Middle Stratum Asserting Its Interests Poorly	Middle Stratum Asserting Its Interests Well	Lower Rural Stratum Able To Assert Its Interests	Lower Rural Stratum in Good Financial Situation	Lower Urban Stratum	Mildly Disadvantaged Stratum	Disadvantaged Stratum	Total
Percent of the population of status group members	5.6	7.1	6.2	8.3	9.0	6.9	8.6	11.4	8.5	7.6	11.4	9.2	100
University	44	30	16	2	2	5	1	--	--	--	--	--	100
College	28	28	23	7	3	7	2	1	--	--	--	--	100
High School	15	19	16	13	10	10	10	3	2	1	1	--	100
Vocational High School	14	19	19	12	10	10	9	3	1	2	1	--	100
Vocational Training School	2	6	6	17	16	4	17	19	4	3	3	1	100
Eight Grades Elementary School	2	5	5	10	14	9	13	16	8	7	8	3	100
Less Than Eight Grades	--	--	--	2	4	5	3	10	15	13	24	24	100

\*For an explanation of table headings, see section entitled "Dimensionalized Strata".

this; less representative is, for example, the indicator which for the past few years was still considered of singular importance--whether one was a worker, peasant or intellectual, or perhaps "other", i.e., one's position in the division of labor. [The evaluation which forms the basis of the study took into consideration eight dimensions (viewpoints) of social status (position). These are outlined in the section entitled "Dimensionalized Strata".

Within the past 20 years, there have been other demonstrable changes in the structure of Hungarian society. A new worker category has developed--that of the agricultural worker; the differences in lifestyle between those working in industry and agriculture have also decreased as a result. Marked differentiation has also begun within the intelligentsia; for example, those who have attended university and those who have attended college comprise social groups which may be fairly well differentiated. The latter usually enter the highest category only if they attain leadership positions.

The researchers themselves were surprised to discover how little social status is influenced by whether or not one participates in the second economy. Nor did the expected result "come in" that skilled workers who have completed high school --and who make up 1/10 of the workers--would compose a separate stratum. It was discovered that while a distinct elite stratum truly exists within the skilled workers, they usually attain this position not with higher general education but rather with their specialized skills and their ability to assert their interests which are more developed than in the others.

The eight-dimensional study was performed not only considering individuals but also concerning families. It was discovered that 13 percent of families have rather low incomes. The researchers included those families in this group, those with the lowest incomes, in which the income per person is less than 1,200 forints; and those singles who must subsist on an amount less than 2,000 forints each month. (The explanation for the distinction is that in families with several members, the fixed expenses--as for example, the rent--are divided several ways.) Of the families, 9.5 percent belong to the group which has the largest income; in these, at least 5,000 forints are allotted per family member and 8,000 per single.

The researchers observed that the status groups did not follow a hierarchical order in several respects. For example, the income per person in a prosperous rural household is even greater than that for the "elite" group. In the second status group, it is striking that the housing situation is worse than the other status-determining factors.

The members of the groups in the three best positions owe their distinguished classifications to their schooling, employment status, the number of their subordinates, and frequency of vacations; their other indices differ much less from those of the other groups. Whether one is an active or retired worker proved to be an extremely important status determinant. The actives have 2.3 times the chance of belonging to the "elite" group than the retirees. But the retirees have 6 times more chance of belonging to the lowest group than the actives.

The status of the family is also strongly influenced by the number of aged

dependents. Only 5 percent of the families with an active head of household belong to the lowest status category. However, 27 percent of the families with a retired head of household belong to the lowest status, and 32 percent of the families where the head of household is a dependent belong to the lowest status.

The first volume outlining the theoretical hypotheses of the series summarizing the results of the work of the 16-member research collective has already been published, and the second volume reviewing the methodology of the research will shortly be available. The third working study entitled "Status and Stratum" which we outlined here does not contain data concerning social mobility. The planned sixth volume of the series which will presumably be published next year will deal with this sociological question. However, until then, the publication of another two volumes is planned. One will deal with the interrelationship of the economy and society, the labor market and inequality; the other, utilizing empirical data, will summarize the meaning of deprivation and a disadvantageous position in present-day Hungary. The Institute of Social Sciences is planning a volume on lifestyles as well as a comparative study dealing with social stratification which compares the data of the last domestic work to date, published in 1963, with the present situation.

#### Dimensionalized Strata

The researchers analyzed the data of the 16,000 interviewees from eight viewpoints--eight dimensions. (Of these, the seven most important considerations appear in the table.)

Many subfactors were taken into consideration in the formation of each dimension; let us select a few of them. Under the heading of "Territory", not only the official listing of the settlement, i.e., its city or village designation, its infrastructural provisioning and its urbanity were taken into consideration, but also the noise level around the interviewee's home. Under the "Apartment" dimension, their attention also extended to all the comfort factors, i.e., in addition to whether there is water and electricity, to the condition of the furniture, to the furnishings and to the number of people sleeping outside the room, and even to the date the apartment was last painted. In the "Consumption" dimension, they took into consideration, for example, the quality of nutrition, entertaining habits, the child's birthday ceremony; they also inquired where clothing was purchased and how many private lessons the child attended. In the examination of "Occupation", they not only arranged the prestige and rank of the occupation on a value scale but also the average income, the necessary qualifications for the occupation, the sector of employment (state, cooperative, private), the independence of the work, the place of employment and its distance from the home, the number of rest days per week and when they fall, as well as the chronic illnesses the interviewee suffers from.

For the first time in modern Hungarian sociological literature, this

# Point Scores of Factors Determining Social Status Groups in 1981

<u>Status Group</u>	<u>Consumption</u>	<u>Culture</u>	<u>Assertion of Interests</u>	<u>Housing</u>	<u>Territory</u>	<u>Financial Situation</u>	<u>Position in the Division of Labor</u>	<u>Total</u>
Elite	5.2	6.0	4.9	6.5	5.7	5.8	5.7	39.8
Upper Urban Stratum	5.0	5.5	5.6	3.3	5.6	4.9	5.3	35.2
Upper Rural Stratum	4.3	5.1	5.5	5.7	3.7	4.3	5.3	33.9
Prosperous Rural Workers	4.4	4.1	4.7	3.1	2.8	4.9	4.0	28.0
Prosperous Urban Workers	4.6	4.2	4.1	6.0	4.7	4.4	3.5	31.5
Middle Stratum Asserting Its Interests Poorly	4.2	4.2	1.9	4.3	5.5	3.9	4.3	28.3
Middle Stratum Asserting Its Interests Well	4.0	3.9	5.0	3.0	4.6	3.2	3.8	27.5
Lower Rural Stratum Able To Assert Its Interests	3.0	2.9	4.3	2.6	2.2	3.0	3.5	21.5
Lower Rural Stratum in Good Financial Condition	3.2	2.5	1.7	3.4	2.8	4.7	2.9	21.2
Lower Urban Stratum	2.4	2.4	2.4	3.9	5.3	2.8	3.4	22.6
Mildly Disadvantaged Stratum	3.4	2.0	1.7	2.6	2.8	2.1	2.8	17.4
Disadvantaged Stratum	1.5	1.4	1.5	1.7	2.4	2.0	2.5	13.0
Average	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.6	3.8	3.7	3.8	



study examined the ability and possibilities of an individual to assert his interests in work and social life. In developing the "Assertion of Interests" indicator, in addition to the objective data, the answers received to questions such as what the individual cites when asking for a pay raise, whether in the interviewee's opinion he is compensated for his work, whether it is conceivable that he will be fired and if so, how long it will take to find another job were also taken into consideration.

Naturally, these so-called auxiliary indicators are not all of uniform weight; in general, the comfort factor of an apartment is obviously more important than the date it was last painted. The researchers classified these indicators according to their importance and assigned point values to the information given by the interviewees. The point scores reached in this manner were then averaged according to weight. moreover in such a way that, for example, double the point scores of the indicators considered more important were used in the calculations. Then the average dimension-value arrived at was again averaged within each status group; this is how the final point score of a given status group between one and seven within each dimension was arrived at (see table).

The naming of the status groups was rather arbitrary; generally, the adjectives emphasized in the name refer only to the typical characteristics of the group. Essentially, the two lowest and two highest groups--those who are in a disadvantaged position and those belonging to the elite--were allocated their members by the selection of the lowest and highest combined point scores according to dimensions from among the interviewees.

#### Researcher Response

We asked Tamas Kolosi (37 years old), author of the sociological study entitled "Status and Stratum", [doctoral] candidate in sociology, scientific department head at the Institute for Social Sciences, what motivated the research and what it is worth, i.e., what the results of the research might be used for.

[Question] HVG: It was exactly 20 years ago, in 1963, that KSH examined social stratification in Hungary; Zsuzsa Ferge utilized this in her book written about social stratification which has since also been considered a fundamental work in Hungarian sociology. In the 20 years which have since passed, several similar works have been completed, but a comprehensive work which encompasses the entire country was done only now. Why did you wait so long?

[Answer] TK: Significant changes in the structure of society do not occur within 2-3 years--not considering turbulent periods of changes in the social order. Therefore, it would be a rather significant waste of intellectual and financial energy if a work of

this magnitude would be undertaken within periods of less than 5-6 years. In addition, although Zsuzsa Ferge's study was a revelation in Hungarian sociology, it did raise a whole series of methodological and theoretical subproblems which had to be clarified before a work of this magnitude could be begun.

[Question] HVG: How much did your study cost?

[Answer] TK: The costs of data collection approach 20 million forints. But--also as a novel method of scientific organization and within the framework of a national research orientation--the KSH, the Sociological Institute of the MTA and the Institute of Social Sciences uses this data as the data base of six coordinated research projects; thus the costs per study are significantly lower.

[Question] HVG: A great deal of technical knowledge is necessary to understand the 300-page study. How can those unfamiliar with sociology utilize the results of the study?

[Answer] TK: We prepared a working study, i.e., a basic work which many people will utilize in many ways in the upcoming years. Presumably the majority of the users will need only some of the conclusions, and we will willingly help in "translating" these. But probably the case will be--as it always is--that our opinions will be sought in preparing to make a decision and we will prepare a "plainly understandable" analysis based on our research. Unfortunately, few institutions request sociological help. However, a study may also have an effect if the scientific results are published, thus everyone--including the decision makers--can be informed.

9956  
2500/43

## WORK OF 13TH PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM SUMMED UP

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish No 248, 19 Oct 83 p 1

[Article: "By Struggle, Reconciliation and Reform"]

[Text] The Report of the Political Bureau, 44 speakers, 33 speeches which have been entered into the minutes, the ending words of the first secretary of the Central Committee, 4 resolutions--this is the statistically presented harvest of the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee deliberating in session for 2 full days. It was devoted to ideological problems and personnel policies close to them in some measure. We will note this down, though it is not in the quantity of resolutions and speeches that the accomplishments of this party debate are contained, but in its content and, first of all, in practical directions for actions taken in order to overcome difficulties in regularizing the situation and in making progress in our country. What, then, is the essence, the guiding spirit of the 13th Plenum?

The first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Wojciech Jaruzelski, in his final speech mentioned three dominating features of the plenary debate. It proved that our party, which is the leading directing force of a socialist country, needs more of a class, ideological and theoretical awareness, and also more everyday activity transforming ideology into facts, into social reality. The party needs, third of all, more actions confirming the stability and inevitability of the line of the Ninth Congress, which increases the social and workers' trust.

These three currents in the discussion are closely related to each other and their practical significance for the life of the country cannot be overestimated. The more so that the discussion centering around these matters was unusually penetrating and critical: it was a discussion which uncovered shortcomings and errors in behavior, allowed this behavior to be corrected and a new one initiated, a better one, more regular and effective.

Two years have passed from the moment when the political line of the Ninth Congress was established. This is a line of struggle, reconciliation and reform, called by the society a socialist renewal. The results were brought in by over 2 years of implementation of this line. The recognition of the workers' protest as correct but also the extraordinary measures of martial law taken to counteract events which introduced anarchy into the country,

the unrelenting struggle with antisocialist forces but also patient, stubborn pursuance of reconciliation through dialogue and, most of all, a consistent implementation of reforms in various walks of economic and social life, all brought about a visible progress in normalization of the situation in our country. Normalization is not enough, however. It is only an introduction to the reconstruction of what has been destroyed and it is an initial condition for achieving the needed progress that means the progress which is the determining factor of our living standard inside the country and the position of our state in the world. Both continuous normalization as well as continuous progress must be achieved in conditions which are exceedingly difficult and complicated, in conditions of necessary struggle with domestic antisocialist forces. These forces are efficiently supported by similar international forces which are unscrupulous, as is well known and which is attested to by the massive and hostile propaganda directed toward us, and by economic restrictions. This is why the activization of actions taken is indispensable: of those taken by the citizens' society and of those who belong to the widely understood state authorities.

Activization of actions is needed, actions which serve to hasten the implementation of the line of the Ninth Party Congress, the socialist renewal and progress. This is why side by side with consistent introduction of reforms into all walks of life, intensified ideological and political education of the society is needed, education which leads to an understanding of the nature of events, of linking theory with practice, of ability to avoid mistakes and, on the other hand, of correct solutions of problems. "The ideological, political and educational task today consists in seeing the working class, as many citizens as possible, practically the entire nation, understands both the nature, sense and conditioning of the present situation," we read in the plenum materials. "We are dealing with a social sore point. In the political sense we continue to be under martial law of sorts. Now we pay double for each mistake and each correct step is noticeable by half as much." This broad application of the ideological principles of our system, the understanding of all conditioning historical phenomena and those phenomena of the present day, allows the governing and the governed, i.e., the state authorities and their nation, to cooperate more closely and to participate together in shaping the fate of the nation.

It was no accident that the leitmotif--let us call it that--of the authorities ran through the entire discussion of the 13th plenum of the party. The issue is of the leitmotif of the authorities broadly understood, not only as a group of people who form a government or a political center. The plenum evaluated extremely severely and critically the phenomenon of marasm still present in our life, the irresponsibility of the "lone wolf" syndrome and even the hypocrisy and dishonesty of many echelons of the state and economic administration. Similarly, it severely condemned insufficient counteractivity against the formation and growth of morally condemnable and socially harmful phenomena which do not fit the principles of social justice of a socialist system. Next to ideological upbringing in purging our life of all evil and all injustice, thus improving society's self-image and its activity, a positive role should be played by a new personnel policy, the principles of which the party plenum discussed in as penetrating a manner as it did the ideological problems.



The leitmotif of authority is the unusually essential matter of maintaining contact with the working class, with working people. The plenum recalled that the working class should be the real master in its own country and should fully utilize its own abilities for participation in the formation of its policies and its fate. The plenum revealed the insufficient concern for the living and working conditions of the working class, its prestige and position. Workers should have a stronger representation not only in trade unions and in enterprise self-government, but also in the Sejm, in people's councils and other organs of representation. An urgent need is the broadening of the consultative system. The meetings of representatives of the state and party leadership with workplace teams that have been initiated are very positively evaluated: this is a fruitful form of exercising authority. But at the same time it is a form still too weakly developed and too rarely used. Similarly, a weak point of various echelons of authority are incompletely enforced resolutions and decisions.

The plenum was, as Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee, called it in his final speech, "militant and severe." This is surely good. Only in this manner--through a critical evaluation of action, through taking well-thought out and widely discussed new programs and their exact implementation in everyday practice, subject to social control--will we be able to control the present problems and, moreover, lead the country on the road of progress.

9971

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HEAD OF ORTHODOX CHURCH COMMENTS ON RELATIONS WITH STATE

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish No 251, 23 Oct 83 pp 3, 4

[Interview with his eminence Archbishop Bazyli, Orthodox Metropolitan of Poland, by Grzegorz Rydlewski]

[Text] At present there exist in Poland over 30 religions which are organized into separate churches and religious associations. One of these churches is the topic of our interview with his eminence Archbishop Bazyli [Basil], who has held, for some 20 years, the eminent post of the Orthodox Metropolitan of Poland and who is the head of the Polish Autocephalic Orthodox Church.

[Question] If you permit me, Your Eminence, let us begin our interview with an attempt to indicate the place of the Orthodox faith in Polish tradition and culture.

[Answer] You have raised very essential problems, around which many misunderstandings and often willful simplifications have accumulated. Indeed, at times our church happens to be regarded as an alien creation which represents a remnant of the times of foreign domination, during which the Orthodox faith was utilized by the czarist regime as an instrument for the implementation of its own political objectives. Thus, we should emphasize that the Orthodox faith has existed in Polish society for centuries, that it represents an element of our society's culture and that, on the other hand, members of our church have shared all the experiences of our nation for several centuries, while making their own contribution to this nation's development. Without going too deeply into history, we should recall that Christianity in the Eastern Byzantine rite with Slavic liturgy reached our society through the mediation of Cyril and Methodius in 865 A.D., long before the Baptism of Poland [966 A.D.]. We should also remember that the first organizational structures of our church were created as early as the reign of Casimir the Great, when, in 1371, a separate Halich metropolis was established. It is true, a separate Orthodox hierarchy had gradually disappeared in the [Old Polish] Republic by the end of the 17th century, but that was clearly related to the implementation, by contemporary Catholic rulers of Poland, of the principle "the ruler determines the religion" and to the former's persecution

of Orthodox believers. It was only the resolutions of the 4-year Sejm, which accepted and included in the Sejm's so-called "Volumina Legum" [records of laws] the so-called "Pinsk articles," which had been accepted at an Orthodox conference in Pinsk in 1791, that created the basis for the reactivation of the Orthodox Church in Poland. A characteristic trait for the history of the Orthodox religion in Poland has been the constant effort to make the Orthodox Church independent in our country, as a result of the conviction that this will help our involvement in the implementation of tasks which our homeland faces. As a result of this effort, we obtained our own independent organization in 1918, and, already after World War II, in people's Poland, the autocephalic status of our church has been finally determined.

[Question] Would you, then, Your Eminence, give us a few examples of the abovementioned contributions of Orthodox believers to the development of our nation, and also point out values which, in your opinion, the Orthodox Church has contributed to Polish culture?

[Answer] There are many such examples. Indeed, Orthodox believers were present at all the crucial moments of our homeland's history. They took part in national uprisings; they fought and died in the defense of Poland on the battlefronts of World War II; and they joined in the effort of the reconstruction of our state after 1944, lending their support, without any hesitation, to the people's authority which was emerging after the war. Therefore, it is embarrassing to note that in some milieus these contributions are forgotten, while everything Polish is identified with Catholic tradition and culture. We had one more example of it recently, when, on the [300th] anniversary of the victory at Vienna, some people tended to notice only the contributions of Poles of one religion, totally ignoring the fact that among the Polish troops at Vienna there were believers of many religions, including a sizable group of Orthodox believers. Our church has contributed to Polish culture in the spheres of both material and spiritual culture. In the first of these, of importance is iconography, Orthodox church art, stained-glass windows, and musical works. A large part of these items will soon be housed in a museum which is being established by our church. On the other hand, with reference to the sphere of spiritual culture, I should like to emphasize particularly our actions which aim at the patriotic upbringing of youth and favor the shaping of the conviction of our joint responsibility for the fate of our homeland, as well as the need for respect for the state and its authorities, who have assumed particular responsibility for our future.

[Question] The Orthodox faith represents the second largest religious group in our country, with a total of over half a million believers. Does the church which is headed by Your Eminence have the necessary conditions for meeting the religious needs of these believers?

[Answer] Yes. These conditions have been created by the policy of the state authorities in the sphere of freedom of religion and conscience. The Synod of Bishops, representing the authorities of our church, is functioning undisturbed. There are currently four dioceses: the Warsaw-Bielsko diocese, the Bialystok-Gdansk diocese, the Lodz-Poznan diocese, and the Wroclaw-Szczecin diocese. In September, after an agreement with the state authorities

as provided by the decree of 1956, the new Przemyśl-Nowy Sącz diocese was established. Bishop Adam was appointed its diocesan pastor. A total of approximately 250 parishes are currently functioning, with 226 clergymen being active in them. We have one male and one female monastic order. At present, there are 72 students in our seminary. We have a total of 301 Orthodox churches, chapels, and prayerhouses. Eleven more churches are under construction. We carry on our educational work among youth in 220 religious instruction centers. We also publish the [Polish-language] quarterly WIADOMOSCI POLSKIEGO AUTOKEFALICZNEGO KOŚCIOŁA PRAWOSŁAWNEGO [BULLETIN OF THE POLISH AUTOCEPHALIC ORTHODOX CHURCH] and the [Russian-language] monthly TSERKOVNYI VESTNIK [CHURCH BULLETIN]. In addition to strictly religious and educational activity, we also carry on charity work. In the latter, of great importance will be the nursing home in Stanisławów, already under construction.

[Question] You have mentioned, Your Eminence, that our state's religious policy has created proper conditions for the activity of the Orthodox Church. In your opinion, which elements of this policy deserve special attention?

[Answer] Our church particularly appreciates the fact that in people's Poland, both in normative solutions and in practice, the principle of freedom of religion and conscience, as well as of equality of all religions, has been accepted; this has provided guarantees for the activity of different religions, including the Orthodox religion. Of crucial importance, in our opinion, is the fact that our state is a secular one, that it is free of religious symbols and of associations with one dominant religion, that it does not keep files on religious denominations, thus affording all Poles the freedom to choose their religion or else to have the opportunity to profess no religion at all, which is the best guarantee of a normal situation in the sphere of religion. Indeed, history has taught us that a state which is associated with a certain religion provides freedom only to that particular religion and provides conditions for its development, thus discriminating against other religions. Those other religions are then regarded as sects, and their rights are curtailed. A religion's rights must not be determined according to the number of believers that a religion has. Even more worth mentioning is the fact that some people want to make precisely the number of believers of a certain religion the basic argument in their efforts to obtain greater rights than other religions have. Our church appreciates the fact that the state, while remaining secular, maintains relations with individual religions. These contacts represent an opportunity to make known our views on many matters concerning our homeland. They also represent an opportunity to become more familiar with the views of the state authorities on certain problems.

[Question] In view of these contacts, is, in your opinion, cooperation between the state and the Orthodox Church possible in resolving some of the problems which our homeland faces?

[Answer] Of course. It is not only possible but it is already taking place. While preserving our Christian identity of world outlook, we see the possibility of cooperation with the state in all those areas on which we have common views, regardless of often different argumentations. Patriotic education,



inculcation of respect for good work, for the state and its organs, elimination of social ills, reduction of the impact of economic difficulties through charity work, and, finally, consideration of the interests of the Polish state in our international contacts, are only some of the possible areas of cooperation.

[Question] What is the position of the church which is headed by you, Your Eminence, on the matter of the current situation in our country?

[Answer] As a matter of principle, our church does not concern itself with politics and does not carry on political activity. Its believers, however, represent a small part of Polish society and together with this society they experience the difficulties which are a result of the political and economic situation in Poland. And, therefore, we welcome, with approval and hope, the progressing normalization of the situation in Poland. Many tasks still await implementation. Our church has always taken the position that these tasks can be implemented through the honest joint work of all of us Poles. This position is just as valid today--all the more so that, in our estimation, the present state authorities provide guarantees of rational and proper utilization of the fruits of our common labor. These guarantees are confirmed through the understanding and cooperation of all those Poles who want to participate in the implementation of the tasks which we are facing. Therefore, representatives of our church have become actively involved in the activity of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], regarding this movement as an important area of our participation in working out decisions which are crucial for Polish society.

[Question] We are living in a situation of an enormous increase of political tensions and of a military threat which is related to the intention to install new kinds of weapons. What is your position, Your Eminence, on these matters?

[Answer] I share the concern about the current world situation, all the more so that as an older man I personally have experienced some of the misfortunes that are related to war. This concern is shared by our entire church. Therefore, we support totally the position of our state authorities regarding the need to preserve peace, to limit the already existing military stockpiles, and to abandon plans to install new kinds of weapons both in Europe and in the whole world. We regard such a position as an element of the Polish *raison d'etat*. We present this position in our interfaith contacts. As an example, I can refer to the position which we took during a debate [at a meeting] of the World Council of Churches in Canada, or during a debate at a conference of Christian activists which was held in Warsaw in September.

[Question] The Orthodox religion is one of the three numerically largest religions which make up Christianity. To what extent, then, does the church which you head, Your Eminence, participate in ecumenical activities which we have witnessed in recent years?

[Answer] We attach great importance to these activities. We regard them as a way to bring all Christians closer together. However, we want this to be a rapprochement which is based on respect for existing doctrinal differences

and separate traditions. Particularly, we want this to be a rapprochement which is based on equality of all Christian religions. In the process of ecumenism thus conceived we have perceived, in recent times, many positive phenomena, certain new elements in the position of the Catholic church. However, we still perceive many difficulties which will have to be resolved in the future.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

9577

CSO: 2600/206

# MINISTERIAL COUNCIL DISCUSSES CULTURAL POLICY

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 40, 5 Oct 83 pp 1, 4

[Report on the session of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw on 23 September 1983, by Teresa Krzemien: "Culture Is Not a Supplement... . Almost a Protocol"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] It is 10:00am. In the lamplit hall of the Council of Ministers Office a routine Friday session of the Council of Ministers starts. On the agenda: a discussion on the draft of a law on the popularization of culture and the rights and duties of those employed in its popularization. Besides the main subject, there are a number of those dealing with details; among others, the adjustment of fees for works intended for the stage and fees for the Radio Committee workers.

The prime minister opens the session by welcoming the Presidium of the National Culture Council and, by name, six guests from outside the council, representatives of artistic circles: Wladyslaw Frycz, Andrzej Janota, Jerzy Kawalerowicz, Henryk Szletynski, Marian Sztuka and Andrzej Wasilewski.

The draft of the law preceded by information about the situation in artistic circles, is presented by the minister of art and culture, Kazimierz Zygulski.

Journalists invited to room No 208, off of the lamplit hall, are watching the course of the session on a TV monitor. In the journalists' room there is a semicircular table, tea in thermoses, mineral water, black currant juice, cookies.

At 11:00 am, Minister Zygulski still has the floor. He is speaking with determination, at moments with fervent enthusiasm. He does not overestimate the progress of normalization in polarized artistic circles, especially among writers and actors. And yet, he expresses the hope that the future will bring the revival of creative associations which have to be /"autonomous, guaranteeing freedom of creation,"/ but they must also /"absolutely accept certain general principles."/ And this is a demand beyond recall. The minister stresses the role of a state as an active patron /("some would like to give this patronage over to public groups, which exists, e.g., in Scandinavia--culture in the hands of several concerns")/, points out the

influence of the present economic situation on /"what is happening, what was happening and what will be happening in culture,"/ and takes up the subject of the cultural market and restrictions on cultural policy connected with it. He expresses the concern that the reform might affect culture, and appeals for /"looking for ways not to be subordinated to the mechanisms of a free economy."/ He balances the ministry's assets for the past year: the Cultural Development Fund and National Culture Council. This is an emergency fund, indispensable in crisis, but also programmed to stay there permanently, guaranteeing a steady influx of financial resources for culture. And the council is a 167-person advisory body which gives opinions, makes suggestions. According to the minister, a chance for representatives of not only artistic circles to have their part in creating a democratic and self-governed state cultural policy. The minister expresses the hope that /"the spirit of elitism"/ will not pervade the council; he stresses emphatically that the National Culture Council should work on an interministerial basis, integrally, together with popularization activists and the amateur movement. He stresses several times the cultural needs of rural areas.

As to the draft of the law: it concerns 70,000 people most directly doing services in culture: workers of museums and cultural clubs, librarians, as well as the cadre related to the teaching profession, but underpaid and less prestigious as compared to teachers.

The minister proposes to raise the salaries of this group by an average of 2,000 zlotys per month (this has already happened on the strength of the prime minister's decision), and also to establish a kind of Culture Workers' Charter. He presents the two latest (by 23 September) drafts of the law on popularization: of 27 August and of the end of September, respectively. The latter is more modest, more sparing. Both drafts provide that enterprises will be obliged to pay allowances for culture. There is an idea that enterprises should cover the costs of premises, subsidiaries and culture workers' payrolls, while the Ministry of Culture should cover program expenditures. The draft of the law provides for 10 percent bonuses for the workers employed at cultural posts in small towns (by the analogy to raises that teachers received for the same reason), but it also stipulates--besides rights--qualification standards for the new profession (because in fact we are talking about a new profession).

The minister appeals again: cultural institutions cannot be founded exclusively by the will of the state administration. They may be brought into existence by everybody: an enterprise, workers' unions, social organizations, individuals. The chance should be taken and initiative shown. The minister reports printers' demands (they will extend their working time if they get longer paid leaves and paid overtime) and the project of creating a special Literature Fund from the Cultural Development Fund (after the model of the already existing State Fund of Artistic Commissions), designed to give social help for writers, scholarships, etc.

Minister Zygulski finishes his report in the 90th minute of his pronouncement.

The prime minister invites discussion.



At 11:35 am, Professor Bogdan Suchodolski, president of the National Culture Council, supports the draft of the law on behalf of the council's presidium, but has many objections to it and proposes that it be treated as a /"first step"/ on the way of working out an integral cultural program. The major objection is the lack of /"social perspective"/ in the draft, its /"director-ial model,"/ good for an institution but ignoring what is most valuable in culture" spontaneous, unrestrained participation. According to Professor Suchodolski, the draft does not take into consideration the whole tremendous sphere of activities in culture: social-cultural organizations, people's voluntary initiatives. The draft does not appeal to self-government, councils, individuals' imagination. There is no reference to science, which is also culture in a broad sense, or to technology. Therefore, there is an appeal to pass the law, because it settles the problem of culture workers' professional cadre, which has till now not been wronged, but also to take care of an overall program for culture in the near future.

At 12:00 noon, Jerzy Kawalerowicz, directing his voice to /"citizens, gentlemen, comrades,"/ raises the problem of the National Culture Council, so far /"somehow not existing in the consciousness of artistic circles"/ which, generally, /"have not been participating in the country's cultural life recently."/ He demands a proper rank for art /("which exists only in the name of the Ministry of Art and Culture")/ and respect for artistic circles, rather strongly desiring to be treated with dignity. He proposes to think over the question of who is a creator in a socialist state.

At 12:20 pm, Marian Sztuka, representative of a new Union of Graphic Designers, points out the silence in the matter of capital expenditures for culture. He recalls the poor quality of printing and the whole complex of cultural services. He proposes to think of raising the prestige of professionalism in culture. He asks about the fate of Ujazdowski Castle--who will be its manager in the end?

At 12:45 pm, the prime minister announces a 15-minute break.

At 1:00 pm, the session resumes. Andrzej Pietsch from the Presidium of the National Culture Council remarks on the status of the artist. He supports the law on popularization and the rights and duties of popularizers, without whom no strictly artistic performance /"could not take place, either."/

At 1:30 pm, Andrzej Wasilewski, director of the PIW [State Publishing Institute], concentrates on the situation of literature and publishers. He assures the readiness of a group of initiators to create a new ZLP [Polish Writers' Union], which should /"regain independence on both the international and internal plane. The previous ZLP was guided by remote control. Like missiles."/

The director opts for the Literature Fund, points out that the West's donations for writers in Poland are /"bigger than what our state patronage offers."/

At 1:50 pm, Wladyslaw Frycz, representative of a new Sculptors' Association, devotes his entire speech to the matter of a base for culture.

At 2:00 pm, Jan Gorec-Rosinski from the Bydgoszcz FAKTY [Facts] and the Presidium of the National Culture Council gives a longer theoretical speech on the role of culture in general.

At 2:20 pm, Professor Hieronim Kubiak, member of Political Bureau, supports the entire draft of the law on behalf of the Culture Committee of the PZPR, Central Committee, simultaneously supporting all of Professor Suchodolski's objections. He emphasizes the precedential character of the meetings of the Council of Ministers with men of art and culture. He stresses the significance of the creation of a new profession: cultural-life organizer.

He adds many times emphatically: /"Culture must develop through the public. The cultural institution (director plus material means) is only a necessary shell--the essence is made of what is unrestrained and social."/

And further on: /"The causative matter of culture is a nation organized in a state; of art--the work of few for many. Does the public have to stand in opposition to the state? Is self-government an alternative to the state? For some advocates of self-government, today this is a repetition of getting organized without the state and against the state--as in the 19th century."/

Professor Kubiak gives a "no" analysis of creative circles for the authorities and their actions.

/"It is often 'no' for the principles of the system. We will not reach understanding with the believers of such a 'no.' But it is worthwhile to locate this 'no.' And to differentiate 'no' to specific principles of management, types of argumentation, particular people. I think that the majority of 'no' creators are of this kind--those 'no's' should be listened to carefully. If this is only 'no' to certain formulas of socialist realization in Poland, we should issue invitations for a dialogue, even the most difficult one."/

As to the draft of the law: praise for the enterprises' duty to pay allowances for culture: /"A man contributes to the process of work not only his skills but also his imagination and emotions, which are constitutive for culture. Therefore, supporting culture is not a supplement."/ A multidimensional, whole man must be the ideal of a socialist state, and it is the duty of this state to provide for him the conditions for the manifestation of this wholeness. The same concerns a socialist enterprise.

At 2:40 pm, Deputy Prime Minister Edward Kowalczyk comes up with a motion that in the preamble to the law culture be accompanied by the adjective /"national."/

At 2:42 pm, Andrzej Janota recalls the situation of artists, describing it as difficult. He asks about the fate of Ujazdowski Castle.

At 2:50 pm, Minister Wladyslaw Baka gives a speech devoted to the problem of the reform-culture relation. He protests that the reform can allegedly create /"free enterprise"/ in culture, since /"you cannot talk about free enterprise even in economy."/ On the contrary, the reform guarantees development for culture. The Cultural Development Fund was an offspring of the reform, the reform brings an increase in self-government's role, it supports multisubjectivity. But the allowances for "culture" taken out of an enterprise's costs would be illusory, since every operation of "price clearing" will cause their termination. The minister proposes instead a release from taxes, kind of endowment, especially for enterprises operating in small towns.

The draft of the law seems the right one to the minister, although /"its language is too much like legal parlance, too formal."/

At 3:15 pm, Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski asks: which is more important for culture today--a sphere of attitudes or a base? He admits that there exists a number of material needs and they will be satisfied as our possibilities permit, but he warns against ignoring the PRL's [Polish People's Republic] achievements on the field of making the base for culture. The deputy prime minister reports in short the history of the conflict within a part of the artistic circles (the "part" is strongly stressed) in the years 1980-82. According to the deputy prime minister, circle fractions still exist; however, they have become less acute. And yet, a political struggle in fact goes on.

Another conflict between artistic circles and the authorities is the /"centuries-old"/ conflict of men of art with those who rule. Different solutions are needed here, as this conflict is different in its substance, nonpolitical. Every system deals with it in a different way. Napoleon added to dramas scenes in praise of himself, and left only four theaters. The subordinating of artists by politicians is doomed to fail; similarly, politicians will not submit to artists. They have different mentalities, different responsibilities.

The attitude of people's authority towards artists in the years 1980-82 was /"full of tolerance."/ Administrative actions were undertaken in 1982 /"because it was dictated by the political interest."/ The authorities are open to a dialogue with creative circles and the circles /"should take advantage of it."/ If circle self-government does not get active, /"administrative factors will take the upper hand."/ Everything then "depends on the circles' activity."/

A final remark: in talking about popularization, one cannot forget about the great changes introduced to this process by television. To release television's activity, to improve its quality is also the way to popularization.

As to Ujazdowski Castle: the decision has been made and it is not revoked.

At 3:10 pm, Professor Henryk Szeletynski, organizer of a new Association of Polish Stage Artists, introduces to the discussion a draft of a Law on Artistic Institutions, not in question till now. He concentrates on the matters of the theater. The idea of creating a new ZASP [Association of Polish Stage Artists] is presented in particular theaters together with the draft of a Law on Artistic Institutions, and, according to the professor, it raises actors' interest. The Law on Artistic Institutions could take /"the burden of the enterprise"/ from theaters.

At 3:30 pm, the prime minister issues dinner invitations. Journalists are invited to "the government's table," too. White tablecloths, house tableware, waiters, herring as an hors d'oeuvre, barley soup, ground-beef patty, carrots, potatoes and compote.

At 4:00 pm, the session resumes. Finance Minister Stanislaw Nieckarz specifies politely but firmly how much culture received over the past 2 years--39.3 billion zlotys exactly--and he promises solemnly that it cannot count on more till 1985, that is, till the completion of savings and anti-inflation program. Nor can the minister guarantee a special charter for popularizers.

He gives his consent to the Literature Fund, but only within the existing Cultural Development Fund.

In the question of enterprises' allowances for culture, the minister proposes a general entry in the law: an enterprise is obliged to pay allowances without specifying from what position.

At 4:30 pm, Minister Adam Lopatka, chairman of the Office for Religious Affairs, recalls the role, importance and function of church culture, constantly under development, with achievements already traditional--/"one cannot remain silent about it."/

But--he adds--/"in this culture there are phenomena that call for counteractivity."/ Namely, in certain circles there exists /"a tendency to exaggerate this role, to identify it with national culture."/ There is also /"penetration of cosmopolitan culture under a Roman or Christian cover and, through this, separation of us from our neighbors."/ There is a tendency to diminish the role of secular and revolutionary elements in culture.

At 4:45 pm, Minister Edward Grzywa speaks about his understanding of industrial patronage. He quotes the Gorzow Stilon workers' questions: /"Why does an actor absent on stage for 3 months get his salary?"/

At 5:00 pm, Minister Stanislaw Zieba issues a fervent appeal for culture in rural areas, for the presence of a live actor in a village, for a cultural offer for a village.

At 5:05 pm, Minister Stanislaw Ciosek says, /"I will talk about substantive matters."/ He proposes to give higher salaries to culture organizers but no privileges, nor a charter. "Others will also want charters." /"This is disruptive to me, this takes all arguments away from me."/



At 5:15 pm, Waldemar Swirgon, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, takes the floor. He opts for the law in its broadest sense, for enterprises' duty to pay allowances. He is for a /"cultural revolution of the caliber of the educational one already completed."/ He speaks up for the law /"not for the duration of the crisis but for years,"/ for expansion, forever, because /"culture cannot be suspended for some time; important matters should be dealt with simultaneously, since such is the nature of the life process."/

As to finances: /"It is better to have more expensive books than to have writers against us." The secretary argues with Minister Baka and Minister Ciosek about reform in culture: /"Minister Baka argued with a thesis that did not exist"--"of course, culture has been crushed by the crisis and not by the reform. But the point is that the reform should help culture out of the crisis."/

At 5:30 pm, Minister Kazimierz Zygulski again speaks: /"The discussion contained the elements of cultural philosophy, and this comes within the scope of the National Culture Council."/ We are talking about different ranges of popularization; the government's activity is definite. /"It is easy to criticize institutions, but everyone dreams only about multiplying them."/ The minister proposes to establish a new kind of award for the merits for national culture. He appeals for incentives coming from rank and file workers, for the development of television's cultural sections: /"We have the best possible relations with television now."/ He also appeals for /"stabilization of thinking,"/ even for /"2 weeks ahead."/ He argues with Minister Nieckarz in the matter of a worker's charter.

At 5:40 pm, Minister Stanislaw Nieckarz again speaks: /"Comrade Zygulski didn't understand me. I gave my answer to Minister Baka. I'm earnestly asking for an accurate reading of intentions and precise polemics."/

At 5:45 pm, Minister Zygmunt Rybicki presents the text of the draft law with all the changes and corrections that appeared in the course of the session.

At 5:50 pm, Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski closes the discussion. He thanks the guests for their participation in the works of the Council of Ministers: /"Maybe they became convinced that this is not a conspiracy of troglodytes debating how to make Poland a cultural desert."/ The thesis about /"a desert"/ is unjust not only for our contemporaries but also for entire generations of volunteers. The prime minister speaks about the identity of culture, one and the same for all Poles, /"also those abroad."/ He speaks about folk culture and amateur creativity, about the 40th anniversary of the PRL, on which occasion justice could be done to its cultural achievement.. Here, there is /"a request to the National Culture Council to work on the evaluation of these achievements."/ The prime minister speaks about the freedom of creation, democracy in culture: /"We believe in an artist's unique personality and his artistic freedom."/ He speaks about the political struggle in the field of culture: /"We'll be patient for those who are confused. We have time. We'll wait."/ But this is a social waste. /"The state's interest is the only limit we look upon peacefully and prudentially but also consistently. We will guard and defend this interest."/

He speaks silently, very peacefully, while sitting:

/"If not culture, then the awareness of culture has reached many people"/-- this is an achievement of People's Poland. In the past voluntary decisions were made in this hall. We want to avoid it, we work without a curtain.

/"We say: existence defines consciousness. But consciousness also shapes existence. Our attitude towards work, our morale--this is our future existence."/ Work from the base, organic work--in the 19th century people could afford that. How about us?

The prime minister enumerates: /"We have great national problems--a record birth rate, we work shorter and worse, we have less land."/ "A lot of things depend on the attitude of one man towards another: our settlements are dirty, slovenly. We can root it out only through culture, which forms a human protest against these facts."

/"Gogal's 'Who Are You Laughing at?' is always up to date. We are laughing at ourselves, but in order to become better people. So that Poland can be Poland--better, more resourceful and more and more cultural."/

The draft presented by Minister Rybicki is directed by the prime minister to the next session of the Government Presidium.

At 6:15 pm, the guests from artistic circles and from the National Culture Council as well as journalists leave the Council of Ministers' Office. The session of the Council of Ministers is still under way; subsequent issues come up for discussion.

12436

CSO: 2600/186

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Conclusion of Reports-Elections Campaign

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 8 Nov 83 p 2

[Article by: (eb)]

[Text] Last Sunday a reports-elections meeting of the ZIW [Union of Disabled Veterans] Municipal Board was held in the KBO-1 [expansion unavailable] hall. This was the final meeting to close the entire campaign lasting from 1<sup>st</sup> October of this year. At this time, new boards were elected in all local voivodship circles.

During the period that has elapsed since the beginning of the previous term, i.e., since 12 October 1980, a number of important issues have been resolved that have plagued disabled war veterans for a long time. The most pressing one was the increase in low pensions and annuities that was regulated by the updated law on the ZIW from last year.

Many questions were brought up during the meeting concerning the community. The primary subject of discussion was the problems of everyday life that affect the old and the sickly all the more severely. Added torments for these people are, for example, poorly constructed footwear, an artificial limb, uncomfortable housing or the ill will of other people.

In spite of the many achievements that have led to an improvement in the living conditions of ZIW members, thanks to the help of the authorities, many problems and basic difficulties still remain. The newly elected authorities of the circles will work to resolve and eliminate these problems. Their major task continues to be the social and communal care of union members.

During the meeting, a new board was elected for the Szczecin ZIW circle. Stanislaw Scislewski was elected chairman.

## Campaign Begins With Oneself

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 8 Nov 83 pp 1,2

[Article by: (wla); material enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /We must first do our own housecleaning/--said Wojciech Jaruzelski at the 13th Plenum of the PZPR KC [Central Committee]. /Party members are everywhere: at the workplace, in institutions, in management, in the social security agencies, at the postal service, in queues, in the outpatient department and in the store. They are in the authorities at all levels. Thus, when things are going badly somewhere, when labor productivity is below its potential or when people receive poor service and matters are settled sluggishly--this is our party's loss./

We must begin with ourselves first. Such are the words of many comrades as they summarize the achievements of their party organizations. In order to be able to conduct discussions with others and in order to persuade our fellow comrades and nonparty individuals as well of our ideas and views, the most important thing is for us to begin housecleaning in our own shop, our own work station.

Reports-elections meetings in party organizations foster the ordering of one's own bailiwick. They serve the assessment of attitudes and the implementation of the individual tasks that every party member should implement. It is important that this housecleaning be done sincerely, without insinuation.

In the area of the town and parish [gmina] of Pinczow, reports-elections meetings took place in nearly half of the primary and district party organizations. In discussions, the most attention was devoted to issues that were not able to be resolved within the local element. Party members try to solve most problems within their own areas, without appealing to higher level echelons and authorities as they were wont to do in the past. KMiG [City and Gmina Committee] first secretary Jerzy Gajda informed us that transgressions and irregularities perceived in the municipal management are criticized in party discussion. For example, there are complaints about the poor quality of some bread deliveries and pork-butcher products. The return to the rationing of butter and fats is also regarded negatively.

The party organization in Winiary also attempted to discuss the issues of the local bailiwick above all. The organization, which has 18 members, boasts of much discipline and activism. Its most important task today is to maintain this atmosphere, so as to win the approval of the entire community by improving rural living conditions, for example, the implementation of the suggestion that there be 24-hour telephone service.

In the Kozienice city-gmina PZPR echelon, nine plant and rural POP's [Primary Party Organization] have summarized the results of the past term, with attendance levels of 80-90 percent.



During the course of meetings at the Kozienice Electrical Power Plant and the Lumber Plants, the need was pointed out to broaden the cooperation of PZPR elements with the worker self-government. The improvement of tasks fostering the development of trade unions is no less vital. Trade unions should become the authentic representative of the workforce, as well as the partner of management, deciding how to resolve the most important problems of the enterprise. Emphasis likewise was placed upon new collective agreements and, relatedly, upon the incentives system that must free the desire to achieve the best possible production results. In this context, the comrades devoted much attention to the problem of protecting the living standard of the working class. The procedure for returning to butter rationing is also assessed critically.

In addition to matters of a general nature, participants in the meetings pointed out many shortcomings whose resolution would make the daily life of Kozienice residents much easier. It is generally suggested that everything possible ought to be done to begin building a new elementary school as soon as possible. The conducting of classes from the early morning hours to late at night can be tolerated no longer. At practically all levels, the status of party discipline is emphasized, as well as the consequent need to improve the methods of party training.

The members of rural POP's are disturbed about the further development of livestock production. One cannot consider increasing the supply of livestock without the resolution of the production profitability issue. Besides the concern over farming-related issues, there is also concern over the more rapid correction of local shortcomings, in accordance with society's expectations. For example, in Janow the need has been expressed for greater concern regarding reclamation facilities as well as for increased funds going to the administrative authorities for local road repair.

[Article by: (wir)]

In Szydlowiec, reports-elections meetings have concluded in the OOP's [District Party Organization], while 6 of the 38 POP's have held meetings.

We have been informed by first secretary of the PZPR KMig in Szydlowiec that the campaign is running smoothly. Discussions are focusing primarily on the key problems of city, housing complex and rural residents, and plant workforces.

Much was said in enterprises about the need to employ full-time physicians. This is of special importance for the employees of Szydlowiec plants, due to the shortage of doctors in the city. Enterprise workforces would like to have physicians associated with their plants that, in addition to providing treatment, would also engage in preventive care based largely upon their knowledge of specific work stations.

Another important problem for the city is the building of an elementary school and a trade-services pavilion, as well as a preschool and nursery in the East housing complex. The suggestions made during the previous campaign must be implemented and structures planned before 1980 must be completed.

During the meetings, the members of party organizations elected eight new secretaries. In about 50 percent of the organizations, the make-up of the executive board was changed. Those newly elected are predominantly people with many years of professional and party experience.

#### Interview with Gdansk Party Secretary

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 8 Nov 83 p 3

[Interview with Henryk Szumielski, PZPR KW [Voivodship Committee] secretary in Elblag, chairman of the ZW [Voivodship Board] of TPPR [Polish-Soviet Friendship Society] by Stanislaw Wojtasiak]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Secretary, in addition to your party functions, you recently became chairman of the TPPR ZW. Are these duties easily reconciled?

[Answer] There is no conflict between performing a party function and working in a social organization, in this case in the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society. The TPPR is a highly useful association, i.e., it is considered to be of particular use for state and public interests. TPPR activists broaden the scope of the party's ideological influence. Thus, it is easy to reconcile the KW secretary's duties of responsibility for ideological work with the TPPR chairman's function. At the same time, however, this limits my time considerably, for although this is a social function, I take it very seriously. I believe that if I have agreed to perform the function, I should really do the work and not be chairman in name alone.

[Question] Let us return to the not too-distant past full of quarrels and vehemence. Did the TPPR activists, subjected more than once to the trial by fire, pass the severe test? What conclusions have you drawn from the past?

[Answer] The TPPR did not cease its activity even during the most difficult period, from 1980 to 1982. The number of members in the aktiv practically did not change. The number of members did decline. Those that had joined the society casually, without an inner sense of conviction, those that entered on the principle of "what the heck, I'll join" left the organization. Today we no longer have such members. There are those that have become stronger in arguments and discussions, those that were not afraid of making known their views and beliefs and those that are really interested in broadening friendship between the Polish people and the peoples of the USSR, as well as people that are fascinated with the Soviet Union, its culture, technology and social life, the beauty of its lands and the warmth of its people.

What conclusions do I draw from the past? Nothing should be pushed. The idea and the goals of the society's operation are their own defense. We must believe in our activists and trust them, appreciate their efforts and, when they need it, we must help them. There are many conclusions to be drawn. The answer to this question is too lengthy for a newspaper article. At its recent voivodship congress, the society translated the conclusions drawn from the past into a program of action.

[Question] With regard to bilateral relations with our eastern neighbor, is the current state of knowledge that exists among society satisfactory? What is being done in this direction to present certain issues objectively, to dispel the myths that continue to exist?

[Answer] There are many myths. This is not because there is no access to materials or because we lack the data. It is the result of the poor presentation of such issues in the past. The glut of information that is often repeated in propaganda means that people, just to be contrary, begin to wonder "why do they always say this, maybe things are not so?" I believe that during a certain period, our propaganda made such mistakes. Moreover, this is the result of the propaganda work of antisocialist groups, including anti-Soviet groups within the country. Ideological diversion carried on by Radio Free Europe, Voice of America and other broadcasts of this nature likewise provides a number of such "services." Often this is not a lack of knowledge, but the refusal to absorb this knowledge into the consciousness, a certain lack of trust that circulates caused by the factors of which I have spoken previously. In the majority of people, this skepticism does not emanate from enmity but rather from superficial thinking and the failure to wait until the end to see how things really are.

The society has never evaded this issue. We organize meetings with the representatives of the Soviet Union and discussions participated in by Soviet specialists and the like. The TPPR likewise makes use of party means of information, such as the KW Information Bulletin. The press, radio and television also play a major role in this area. Once again, however, I would like to warn that this be done without exaggeration. We must explain things to those that are unaware or have their doubts, but we should not overdo our explanations, for this is not necessary. Exaggeration reduces credibility, and we do not need that.

[Question] It is known that personal contacts can play a special role here. Seeing is believing. Are the current proportions of the exchange of delegates with the affiliated Kaliningrad District satisfactory? What are the possibilities here?

[Answer] Yes. Personal contact is the basis of activity in the area of friendly relations in general. Friendly relations means not only statements made in documents, newspaper headlines or trade agreements that are favorable for both parties, it is also--more, it is primarily, the knowledge of people, the sharing of experiences and knowledge of the country. Such friendship is inscribed in the heart. There are few skeptics among those that have been in the Soviet Union, that have seen for themselves and have drawn their own conclusions. We value very highly our contacts with the Kaliningrad District. When Poland was on the brink of civil war, these relations were somewhat restricted. Today, the exchange of border-town delegates is more extensive. It is expanding. It transcends the circle of party delegates. This year, a group of 100 children visited Svetlogorsk at the invitation and expense of the citizens of the Kaliningrad area. There was an exchange of delegations of journalists. These contacts will expand. We would like to include in them the working people of Elblag Voivodship plants, and in exchange host the

working people, the workforce of Kaliningrad enterprises. There was also an exchange of youth delegations. We must realize, however, that this exchange cannot transcend a definite framework, for it is not a tourist exchange. These have their own travel bureaus.

[Question] It is known that friendship is not only paying compliments. Sometimes one must broach difficult subjects as well.

[Answer] When there are difficult subjects, we do speak of them. We talk matter-of-factly, simply. We have spoken of thorny subjects when things were going well, when they only seemed to be going well and in really difficult moments, when things were going very badly. Had we not discussed these things, had we not spoken of them, we would not have received the help of the Soviet Union. But such discussions apply not only to the central level, but also to the kind of exchange that concerns the local level: Elblag--Kaliningrad. Difficult issues include international relations, the world situation, but also the shortage of raw and other materials, the need for new technological solutions and the mutual explanation and interpretation of historical facts. We speak about this as well, for friendship indeed is not based on compliments.

[Question] Let us return to the voivodship bailiwick. Please give a brief description of the society. How many members does it have and from what milieus do they come? Finally, what are its strong and weak points?

[Answer] We have nearly 24,000 members, of whom over 13,000 are school-age youth. There are also 171 group members in the society. People from the different communities, urban and rural, from the academic community and school-age youth, thus both adults and children, the members of youth organizations and the military belong to the TPPR.

Time is a very vital element here. The TPPR is composed exclusively of social activists, and thus of people that primarily work at occupations, have families, stand in queues and devote their free time to social work. I must say, however, that this can be reconciled, for the promulgation of friendship does not mean bathing in its waters prolongedly. It is expressed in terms of attitudes and views that are expressed, but the person that inspires and organizes, i.e., the active member, must have time.

[Question] Interesting initiatives have been undertaken recently.

[Answer] I shall limit myself to initiatives that emanate from the work of the Voivodship Board, although there are certainly other, very important local initiatives. The truth is, however, that our aim is for the TPPR to work primarily via the circle. It is here that the greatest activism and the most initiatives should be.

The work of the primary echelons and the ZW should be to coordinate, to organize and supplement. They should also disseminate propaganda. Finally, what we know as initiatives frequently are a reiteration of, or rather a return to what once was, but, for various reasons, has been forgotten in time.



I do not believe that we should strive for originality and innovation at any price, but that we should make use of our experiences and rely on traditions. This in no way means that we should not consider or seek new, improved solutions. We must improve our work, its forms and methods continually.

Near the end of the previous campaign, meetings were initiated with the graduates of Soviet institutions--an excellent idea, but one that was not so easy to implement. We wish to make an attempt to continue to make use of the knowledge and experiences of these people in the work of the society. We wish to enliven the work of the Friendship House itself, to interest young people in it, to increase the number of meetings and to present exhibits on the Soviet Union and its cultural heritage. We are examining the possibility of organizing a film series, at which we would present the heritage of the USSR, the development of the various fields of life, the beauty of the cities and villages of the Soviet Union, the life of the people and the folklore of its nationalities. Systematically held meetings of Soviet people with school-age youth are to be held at the Friendship House. The first of these will be held on 1 December. Currently, there is a "Friendship--Brotherhood--Cooperation" art contest being held for children and young people. The first entries have already come in. We will hold the next meeting of the TPPR ZW Presidium in an industrial plant. It will be hosted by the plant TPPR circle. Together, we will discuss issues that concern all, and the members of the plant organization will have an equal voice. These are merely a few elements of our work.

[Question] What are your aims for the future? What should be preserved, and what should be changed in the work of the TPPR?

[Answer] The answer to that question is short. We wish to implement the program of operation that was passed at the voivodship conference. That is our primary and only goal. Everything else is merely a detail of this program and its expansion. The trend toward involving children and young people in the society's work, as well as active work among all the other elements should be preserved. The trend toward broad cooperation with other social organizations, with youth organizations and above all with the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], of which the society is a member, should be preserved. Meanwhile, PRON members perform significant functions in TPPR.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

#### Campaign in Small Plants

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 9 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Janusz Marciszewski]

[Text] /The place--a division of the LECHIA Cosmetics Factory on Glogowska Street, commonly known as the "Perfumery." In a small auditorium, the reports-elections meeting of the branch party organization is taking place. The meeting follows a regular course--there are procedural matters, then a report is made by the outgoing first secretary Comrade Aleksandra Bakowska and the discussion is opened./ [in boldface]

At first there is silence in the room. No one is eager to take the floor. Finally someone begins. True, it is director Dionizy Kaczmarek, a member of this organization, but he speaks of issues that, while familiar, are nonetheless both of importance and personal interest to all. After him, others do not resist taking the floor--Comrades Andrzej Przybylski, Andrzej Janiszewski, Kazimierz Buchert and secretary of the Plant Committee Zofia Czubalowa, Marian Olszak. Economic issues dominate, and this is justifiable. Everyone, party members included, makes his livelihood through the plant and thus is interested in its existence and its future. Hence, the intraparty matters are brought up in the discussion within the context of production and economic problems.

Listening to what is said and judging by the weight, the emotionality and the tone of these words, I attempt to create for myself a picture of the people and the events at the plant and its problems of which the people that are the consumers of the products of this relatively small division of the Poznan LECHIA are not aware.

For some time now the plant has been traveling a direct route, the production decline has been halted and, in a word, things are getting better, although there is still no shortage of problems and obstacles. While export is the apple of the factory eye, sometimes it is a disappointment. For example, recently a contract agreement was made. Director Kaczmarek was very embarrassed when representatives from the most important consignee for Polish cosmetics, the USSR, expressed their great dismay at the failure of Polish deliveries to be on time, improper transport and the like. While the charges were directed at MIRACULUM more than at LECHIA, this is a small consolation. The Glogowska Street division was charged with a serious breach of contract however. To the dismay of the Soviet contractor, the agreement was broken for the export of a certain cosmetic, since it was learned that it had not been tested properly on the domestic market and was defective technologically. We lost 200,000 rubles, since the Soviet importer did not want the order replaced by another assortment. Nonetheless, the total value of exports of Poznan cosmetics amounts to 6 million rubles, not a trifling sum. Much of this is thanks to the "Perfumery," in terms of production value one of the major divisions of the Poznan LECHIA Plant. Thus, it is a small plant, but a major issue.

Tasks are implemented rhythmically. Thus, the yearly plan is almost complete. Party members speak of this fact with total conviction and with fervor. They stress that every month, this small plant on Glogowska Street turns out about a million pieces of various kinds of perfume-cosmetic articles. Moreover, the people at the "Perfumery" are well aware of market shortages. There is always a shortage of cosmetics on the market. Thus, it is no wonder that the LECHIA workforce expresses its concern over increasing production capacities, using domestic raw materials and, if it is necessary to import raw materials, then to do this only if it is balanced by export production.

The party organization sets many goals for itself. In addition to creating the best possible work atmosphere, one of its more important tasks is to be concerned not only over increasing the party's authority, but also the authority of all party members. This may be achieved through the use of

ever new forms of cooperation with all social organizations, with all workers. The goal of helping people in their concerns has been achieved. Many troublesome matters have been resolved for people, many of them nonparty individuals.

One more statement is worth mentioning. While it was essentially of marginal importance during the discussion, it is both current and vital. The statement concerned the return to the rationing of fats. The gist of the statement was this: we, as the party, cannot bear every burden. It was not the party that decided on the return to butter rationing. This was not done by the party, but by an agency, accepted by the party, but run by a minister that is fully responsible for commerce activity. He made the mistake, so he should get the complaints. Moreover, this was the opinion expressed by the Council of Ministers at its last meeting.

In conclusion, on the basis of the course of the "Perfumery" meeting, one may make the statement that the building of everyday plant life is the result of the collective efforts of a relatively small body of people. A great deal is said about the "labor front" in its various forms. The expression is apt with reference to this division of LECHIA. For, today's work sometimes really is the work of a front. Party members and nonparty individuals obstinately attack difficulties, struggle with stubborn materials as well as with themselves, and sometimes simply exhaust themselves. However, when they are able to cope with problems, they experience unquestionable satisfaction and the work seems to go easier. Meanwhile, work at all stations--production, engineering-technological and auxiliary services, brings results. This is the inference of the reports-elections meeting of the PZPR branch organization at the Poznan "Perfumery."

At the conclusion of the deliberations, the Executive Board election was held (Comrade A. Bakowska was re-elected first secretary) and the pertinent resolution was passed.

8536

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## SIGNIFICANCE OF AMENDED MILITARY ETHICAL PRINCIPLES DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 21 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Col Prof Dr Hab Mieczyslaw Michalik: "Amended PRINCIPLES OF ETHICS AND CONDUCT OF THE CAREER SOLDIERS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S ARMY"]

[Text] A new version of the documents defining the principles of ethics and conduct of our army's career soldiers was put into force by the 12 October 1983 letter of the National Defense Ministry's Military Council.

The questions may arise: Why was a new version of the documents introduced? What is the essence of the amendments compared to the former version?

### The History of the Documents

As a brief answer to these questions it is worth recalling in a few sentences (and for the young cadre--simply presenting) the history of the documents.

In 1965, following a rather long discussion in the circles of the professional military, a document entitled THE PRINCIPLES OF ETHICS OF THE CADRES OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S ARMY was published. In 1973 this text, again after a discussion, was supplemented by the principles of military conduct--preceded by a historical introduction--and the whole was published under a two-part title: THE PRINCIPLES OF PROFESSIONAL CONDUCT OF THE SOLDIER OF THE PEOPLE'S POLAND. THE CONDUCT OF THE CAREER SOLDIERS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S ARMY.

Why was it deemed necessary to amend those documents? The amendment was not in the slightest degree aimed at revising their contents or rejecting any of their principles. On the one hand, it was dictated by the desire to improve the documents' form and structure, clarity and communicativeness. On the other, it was to supplement them with the experiences of the years of their application and the new conditions and needs of military life and operations.

This was expressed in the letter of the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defense, of 12 October 1978--the 35th anniversary of the Polish



People's Army--addressed to all soldiers in active service and in reserve status and to army civilian employees and the families of the military. In that letter an evaluation was made of the great role played by THE PRINCIPLES OF ETHICS AND CONDUCT in shaping the socialist conscience of the military cadre and its ideological and moral attitudes; in instilling military virtues and strengthening moral and political cohesiveness and military discipline. At the same time, the letter initiated a general discussion of the contents and application of the PRINCIPLES.

The discussion which developed after the publication of that letter was indeed broad. We can single out several of its aspects. First of all, its significance was integrating and educational for the military community. The broad public discussion of the documents undoubtedly promoted knowledge of their essence and contents, thus influencing the awareness and integration of the military community, its sense of belonging and identification with its moral assumptions and tasks.

Another result of the discussion was the current version of the documents--improved and enriched by many new elements. The contents of the former version were acknowledged during the discussion as correct and conforming to the humanist program of socialism and expressing the army's needs and its social and moral aspirations. At the same time many motions and suggestions were submitted; as a result, the current contents of the documents became to a large degree the work of the whole military community. Animated discussion also developed around the questions of the conditions in which the requirements and recommendations ought to be implemented, and the factors facilitating or impeding their implementation in the conditions of military service.

#### Discussion Problems

When talking about the practical significance of the principles of morality and conduct in the life of society or a given community, we can consider two separate kinds of phenomena. First--the significance of the actually used rules of morality or conduct, namely the impact of certain attitudes, convictions, reactions and conduct on people's destinies, coexistence, organization, collective life processes, the community's capacity for certain action; in the case of the army--its cohesiveness, strength, moral value, social authority, etc. Second--the importance of documents, collections, publications, etc., formulating these rules, informing about them and propagating them. The PRINCIPLES OF ETHICS AND CONDUCT OF THE CAREER SOLDIERS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S ARMY are precisely such a document.

Of course even the most perfect document or collection of rules (or resolutions, statutes, decisions, etc.) can be identified with the practical state of things--meaning their application, observance and realization. The publication and even social knowledge of such documents does not yet signify that they are implemented. Nevertheless such documents can reflect--and this is the case of the ones in question--a real situation or at least the basic trends in a certain domain. They can express, for example, real attitudes prevailing in a given community, the community's aspirations and atmosphere.

More, they can have a significant influence in shaping attitudes in conformity with the adopted ideological programmatic assumptions--provided they are publicized and known; that is, applied to society's educational practice, in favorable social, material, political and organizational conditions. The PRINCIPLES OF ETHICS AND CONDUCT OF THE CAREER SOLDIERS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S ARMY play the role of a "portrait" of a community and its aspirations while at the same time it is a tool of education.

In connection with this many controversial questions arise. They can and ought to remain the subject of discussion, analyses and studies, mass popularization and instruction in military education.

Some of these questions are general in nature and within the range of society-wide interests. Others are specific to the community and refer to the specifics of the professional ethics and conduct of the military cadre.

To the first group belong, among others, the following questions: the essence and role of morality and moral education, social determinants of people's moral attitudes, the needs and possibilities for "codifying" moral requirements, the essence and role of professional ethics, the relationship between "society-wide" and professional moralities, the relationship between moral and praxeological rules, outlook and morality, morality and politics, moral determinants of the costs of certain social decisions and actions, the relation between social and individual moralities, the state of society's moral conscience, and currently, the moral aspects of the social crisis and the ways of overcoming them.

To the second group belong, among others, the following questions of direct interest to the military community: the essence and components of the professional ethics of soldiers, the relationship between the principles of ethics and conduct in army life, the relationship between the rules of morality and conduct and military orders, moral motivations and military discipline, the role and responsibility of a commander, the moral aspects of order giving, the moral rules in peace time and under the conditions of armed conflict, etc. To the issues that are debatable belongs also the question whether it is justified to single out the principles of the ethics of the professional cadre, or whether one should rather talk about the principles binding all soldiers? Despite the voices favoring the second solution, in the discussion prevailed the first position and in this manner all the documents in question were treated. There were important reasons behind this choice.

One must also recall that in many other communities the problems and the codices of professional ethics were also discussed at the time when in the military community the discussion was taking place and work on the current version of the documents was under way. We can mention here above all the communities of scientific workers and teachers, physicians, engineering and technical workers, state administration employees, etc.

## Directions of the Amendments

The current version of the PRINCIPLES OF ETHICS AND CONDUCT has undergone thorough changes in respect to the first version, although in principle, all its contents have been retained.

These changes--apart from editorial ones (greater conciseness and clarity, removal of repetitions, etc.)--went in two directions.

First of all, essential structural changes were made in the documents. A uniform title was adopted. A joint introduction to the PRINCIPLES OF ETHICS AND CONDUCT was inserted and they were also preceded by a uniform historical chapter. The PRINCIPLES OF ETHICS were divided into chapters, and in the CONDUCT--chapters were organized consistently in two parts: "Conduct in the Military Service" and "Conduct of Soldiers Outside the Service."

Second, changes regarding the substance of the documents were made with, above all, a consistent division of the subject into ethics and conduct, while retaining, of course, their connection and the logic that solutions of conduct result from ethical principles and values. Moreover, many new problems, elements and descriptions were added. Thus, in the PRINCIPLES OF ETHICS the questions of attitude toward the state, democracy in the army, the honor and dignity of the soldier, ideological and moral values on the battlefield, were expanded. In CONDUCT, several new chapters were added: "Battle and Political Training," "Military Education," "The Culture of Commanding," "The Culture of the Language," and "The Organization of Military Families."

The whole of the PRINCIPLES OF ETHICS AND CONDUCT was enriched by new thematic conflicts and illustrations. Those already there were developed and made more specific. Their contents referred to other normative documents used in the army. The historical chapter was expanded by many elements of our military tradition, particularly from the period of World War II and the history of the Polish People's Army, as well as the last years of the social crisis in Poland and the process of overcoming it. The view toward many problems was expanded by taking into consideration theoretical conclusions and practical experiences.

## Tasks for the Nearest Future

In the amended documents not all of the motions and suggestions submitted during the discussion could have been taken into consideration, because of their large number and also because of their contradictory character--which is natural in a discussion.

Many questions, besides the ones already mentioned, merit a thorough analysis and discussion. To these belong, for example, the questions of our attitude toward certain elements of the military tradition of morality and conduct, military honor, military coexistence (order, discipline, democracy, military hierarchy, and partnership); general and concrete solutions regarding morality and conduct; the roles of the commanding cadre, political apparatus, and service and social rungs, in strengthening the moral status of the military community.

In this light we can also determine the community's tasks in connection with the introduction of the amended version of the PRINCIPLES OF ETHICS AND CONDUCT. To these tasks certainly belongs a complete acquaintance of the cadre with the contents of the PRINCIPLES. Here military education will have an important role to play. It will be necessary to carry out the further discussion already mentioned, theoretical and empirical research, propagation and publications, in which the aforementioned question would serve as the subject. It will also be of fundamental importance to create the climate and real conditions for promoting the implementation of the PRINCIPLES OF ETHICS AND CONDUCT in the life of the military community in all situations and service relations, so that life will not contradict declared and generally accepted ideals and principles.

12270

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INCREASE IN ECONOMIC CRIME DISCUSSED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 8 Nov 83 pp 7-10

[Article by Salik Zvizdic]

[Text] In the first 6 months of this year economic crime in our country increased all of 29 percent over the same period of last year. The number of fires rose 90 percent, but fire damage increased 300 percent. These figures were presented a few days ago in the SFRY Assembly in a report by the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs; it was said on the same occasion that the security situation in the country was favorable, although increasingly delicate in view of economic conditions.

In the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office in Belgrade we learned something more about the trend and forms of economic crime in our country, but also about the causes and consequences of this situation. The man we talked to was Marko Prijic, deputy federal public prosecutor for economic crime, and we used some of the information contained in a report on a conference of the Yugoslav Federal Association for Criminal Law and Criminology, which was held in Arandjelovac.

"Economic crime in our country has been recording a steady increase of 11 to 12 percent for 7 or 8 years now, and in the first 6 months of this year it has recorded an especially high growth over the same period of last year. It is obvious that the assaults on social property are gaining strength and taking on disturbing proportions, necessitating above all greater activity on the part of self-protection," Marko Prijic said.

In response to my remark that some people say that the rise of economic crime is the result of greater diligence on the part of law enforcement and government monitoring agencies, so that that increase, as seen by some, is an apparent one, Prijic presented figures which shoot that argument down. This simply is not the case, since crime of this kind is actually increasing even though the effort to detect offenders is increasingly vigorous.

The Offenders

In the first 6 months of this year 36,297 criminal charges were filed, which is 14 percent more than in the first half of last year. The number of persons

indicted increased from 20,804 in the first half of 1982 to 24,042 this year, which is an increase of 16 percent. First place in the number of charges filed is taken by law enforcement agencies, which in the first 6 months of this year filed 16,186 charges, which is 51 percent of the total number. In terms of numbers they are followed by charges filed by work organizations which had suffered losses (40 percent), which are a source of more and more charges every year.

According to a census of criminal offenders in the field of economic crime there are now fewer and fewer managers, voucher clerks, various sector supervisors and professional management in organizations of associated labor, and more and more so-called "outside persons" (persons who are not employed in the work organizations which are the victims). Thus in the first half of this year "outside persons" represent all of 15,726, or 65 percent, of the total of 24,042 persons indicted! After that most numerous group of persons indicted comes the group of "others" (24.5 percent), and then superintendents (5.3 percent), voucher clerks (2.1 percent), enterprise managers (1.4 percent) and cashiers (1.3 percent).

"This shows that economic crime is becoming increasingly refined, since there is usually a tieup with persons outside the work organization. A tieup between persons working in the public and private sectors and also between persons holding responsible positions in different work organizations represents a particular danger," Prijic said.

As an example of highly ramified and refined theft our informant cited a case of swindling involving 242,910 kg of copper from the port in Bar, where the tentacles of the criminals in Bar extended all the way to Belgrade, Rijeka, Zagreb and other towns, and the stolen copper was even exported abroad with official documents. If in a single work organization in Osijek a man can manage to take 200,000 dinars in 5 months, it is difficult to believe that the others who knew about this simply let that one man take all the advantage of that theft. Another case which is illustrative in this regard is that of the former high public and political leaders in Krupanj Opstina, who misused their positions to steal from the public. Rajko Medenica, a physician working in Switzerland, could not have stolen hundreds of millions of dinars of foreign exchange from the modest Yugoslav health insurance fund had he not had the active or passive support of a whole collection of "honest" citizens in various SIZ's [self-managing community of interest] and similar institutions.

A precise calculation cannot be made of the sum total of losses inflicted on society by economic crime, since the forms of those losses are diverse and are often manifested indirectly. According to figures contained in indictments, last year a loss totaling 1,876,605,000 dinars was reported, which is 44 percent more than in 1981! Crimes of theft, which accounted for only 3.15 percent of the number of offenses, but accounted for losses of 56,109,000 dinars, or 29.6 percent of all the losses, represent the most sizable share of the losses! The crime of theft today includes a wide range of crimes in cases when the amount of gain realized exceeds 100,000 dinars. This limit was set in 1977 when the SFRY Criminal Code was amended, but it should be increased today, since inflation has reduced the value of the dinar since 1977.

## Dark Figures

A certain number of cases of economic crime are never detected, that is, they never reach law enforcement agencies or the public prosecutor. This "dark figure of economic crime" is usually manifested in the year-end accounts of work organizations in the column headed "Losses," which are then justified in various ways ("work in process," "unforeseen expenditures," etc.).

The losses, as emphasized at the conference of criminologists in Arandjelovac late last year, which society suffers because of the increasingly marked cases of bribery, corruption and the use of influence also comes under the cloak of the "dark figures." In the statistics on crime bribery occurs with a low percentage (of the 47,337 crimes last year only 568 persons were indicted for taking bribes and 778 for giving them), but it is indisputable that this kind of crime exists on a broad scale and deserves greater attention and stricter enforcement because of the loss inflicted on society.

Cases of corruption after the pattern "you treat me right, I treat you right," are also impressive, and they contribute greatly to the weakening of respect for the law and violation of the principles of socialist ethics, which certainly also has its financial price to society's loss. The use of influence is closely related to corruption; in certain activities it has taken on broad proportions, and together with various privileges for certain categories of employed persons (priority in obtaining credit, in purchasing goods, in being hired, and so on) creates the impression that it has become the ordinary way of doing business. It is an encouraging datum that in the detection of such cases there are more and more charges originating in self-protection in work and other organizations or from the ranks of so-called ordinary citizens.

Wasteful and dysfunctional expenditure of funds for public relations in work organizations and other organizations, which in our country occurs in a way unexampled in the business world, constitutes a specific type of privilege. There are no complete records on the expenditure of that money, but only checks from restaurants and coffeehouses, hotel bills, which show that so-and-so-many lunches and so-and-so-many drinks cost so many dinars, but not who treated whom at public expense nor why. Entertainment of friends and relatives is often written off as a business expense, and not uncommonly expensive beverages, cigarettes and various valuable "gifts" are taken home.

There are also numerous abuses of public vehicles for private purposes, especially when certain office personnel and managers are allowed the permanent possession of vehicles which belong to society and drive them themselves. Another notable phenomenon is that of unnecessary official travel in Yugoslavia and even more abroad, which some people use as an additional source of income, especially in the case of foreign trips to Yugoslav construction projects or representative offices of Yugoslav organizations, where not uncommonly individuals receive free accommodation and meals.

Another striking phenomenon is the increase in the number of repeaters, which is the term used for persons who commit crimes "after release," that is,

after they have already been convicted for the same or similar crimes. Of the 46,633 persons indicted for economic crimes last year 1,344, or 3 percent, were "repeaters." This is a great many, especially since 522 of those repeaters were indicted for the crimes of larceny and grand larceny.

#### Prevention

Speaking about the pattern of economic crimes, Marko Prijic emphasized that among the criminal offenders the statistics are showing an ever increasing growth of the number of offenders listed under the heading "Others." Enterprise directors, superintendents, cashiers, and so-called "outside persons" have their own headings, so who, then, are these "others"? Are these perhaps shift foremen in plants, production workers, warehouse workers, watchmen? This needs to be defined more clearly, since statistics is not an end in itself, Prijic emphasized.

It is interesting, Prijic said, that we actually still do not have clear definitions of what we mean by economic crime, but rather we use quotes from books in this field. Even in the world criminological literature there is great diversity concerning socially harmful patterns of behavior in this field, which shows that this kind of crime is on the rise elsewhere as well and that special attention has not been devoted to it. In the world at large some people refer to it as economic crime, others socioeconomic crime, still others white-collar crime, etc. On the initiative of the SFRY Supreme Court a clearer definition of the term "economic crime" will be adopted before the end of this year in our country so that we can avoid a certain shifting of crimes and adding up of "pears and apples."

There are also numerous and diverse factors tending to increase the number of crimes in the field of economic crime, but we should seek these factors above all in a number of socioeconomic and political preconditions afforded by the general situation in the country. Let us enumerate only some of the factors: poor organization of work and of the conduct of business, bookkeeping that is sloppy and not up-to-date, recidivism, inaccurate inventories, slackness on the part of watchmen, lack of responsibility, shortcomings in the system of financial liability, etc.

Prijic especially emphasized the importance of prevention, which should be nurtured in the sphere of activity of the bodies of self-protection, which should be planned and woven into self-management acts, whose enforcement should then be followed up. It is clear that prevention also has its price which should be paid by increased vigor on the part of certain staff services in work organizations and other organizations, but also in terms of financial outlays for better and more comprehensive activity on the part of that service.

"Individuals are more disciplined in respecting legal statutes when relations in society are more settled and orderly, when the situation is normal, if the term can be used. But today we live in a time fraught with economic difficulties, a time when society, along with everything else, has put a strain on all its energies to repay its foreign debt and to preserve the reputation



which our country has in the world. We do have shortages of certain goods, there are also difficulties because of inflation of the dinar, there are fewer new job opportunities, the real value of earnings is dropping, and so on. Many things which we had yesterday we do not have today, and though the shortage may be temporary, we are still without them. It is also certain that this is reflected in a decline of people's discipline, since that discipline is not attractive because of events in society. Certain cases of economic crime, such as the smuggling of various goods, the resale of foreign currencies, abuse of official position, etc., occur as inevitably as the movement of liquid in connected vessels. In the context of the economic difficulties some people want not only the table, but also what is on the table. These are all causes which can explain the rise of economic crime, but they also constitute a call for the bodies of self-protection to participate as intensively and comprehensively as possible in preventing this social evil. What I mean to say is this: it is our assessment that those bodies are increasingly vigilant and vigorous every year," Prijic said.

#### What Is Not Seen

Our informant emphasized that the SFRY Assembly adopted the report of the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office on the work of prosecutors throughout the country and that the effort to combat economic crime was given good marks, although this type of crime is on the rise. Prosecutors and law enforcement agencies, government inspectorates and other services cannot give breadth, full breadth, to prevention of cases of economic crime, but this must come above all from the organization of self-protection, which in our self-managing society has a specific and very important role.

Marko Prijic told about a case which, he said, had made a deep impression on him, although he experienced all this reading the record on a case of larceny. A young man, manager of a leather clothing store in Novi Sad, was arrested in the act of taking, that is, embezzling 1.5 million dinars. When the policemen came for him, he stretched out for the handcuffs and sincerely sighed: "Too bad you didn't arrest me when I had taken only 500,000 dinars"! He had squandered, drunk up and gambled away the money. Prijic said that he still felt sorry for him. Why? The store where this criminal worked belonged to the Leather and Footwear Combine in Visoko, near Sarajevo, but no one there had considered it strange that the manager was sending less money than he should have for the goods he sold. How is it that the controller there did not react? A part of the blame also lies on that department. We are not sufficiently aware that aside from the institution of self-managing workers' control, there is also the form of direct monitoring by the workers and the form of monitoring by the workers' council.

We need to instill in the worker, Prijic says, the conviction that social property is his property, that he has an interest not only in whether someone steals that property, even in the form of "petty thievery," but also in why some tractor is lying in the mud, why some valuable commodity is being ruined in the rain, and so on. For example, we are having more and more fires. Is it just up to law enforcement agencies to protect property against fire?

We need to develop that sense of ownership and of protection of social property. The private owner protects his property because it is his, but social property does not belong to the "state," but to those which manage it and those who obtain their earnings from it. The army of custodians of social property is located first of all in work organizations and other organizations, in factory shops, in the fields, in trade, in the offices, everywhere where things are being created and where human labor is increasing the value of things. Law enforcement agencies and other government agencies help the workers in protecting their, i.e., social, property. There is no question that the climate of irresponsibility is favorable to all types of crime, especially economic crime.

How is it possible, the deputy federal public prosecutor said in amazement, for two entire "Golf" automobiles to disappear from the UNIS sales and service center in Vogosca, as was recently discovered? After all, automobiles cannot be hidden in your pocket, as in the case of certain parts, which in that way can be carried out of a factory. Earlier, "Prince" cars, which are manufactured there, had disappeared. Does this mean that this is an ongoing operation?

Last year social property in the amount of 1,849,000 dinars was stolen in the jurisdiction of the Fourth Opstina Court in Belgrade. Yet up through October of this year charges have been filed for theft in the amount of 4.22 million dinars. Equipment for automatic control of machinery worth 150,000 dinars was even stolen from the driven well of the Belgrade City Water Department! In New Belgrade a prefabricated shed belonging to the municipal parks department and worth about 700,000 dinars was stolen from land belonging to the city! Is it possible that no one saw this?

#### Penalties

We sometimes hear that the penalties are not stiff enough for those who commit economic crimes. They steal money or goods, they serve their time, then they return as "reformed" usually before they have served the entire sentence, which not uncommonly affords them the possibility of using at least a part of the undiscovered social property that was stolen. There is too little confiscation of property, some people say.

"Just a few days ago at a meeting in the Federal Committee for Labor, Health and Social Welfare there was a discussion of penal policy, and the comrades from that committee who have been working on this topic said that our courts impose mild sentences for economic crimes. I did not agree with that," Prigic said.

"Do you think that those penalties are not lenient?"

"I am convinced of it, since I am certain that the courts all over the country are imposing high penalties for these crimes. People who have not experienced isolation from society in penal and correctional institutions can hardly make a correct assessment of the full severity of isolation for 4 or 5 years or more.

"Those are high penalties, and they fall hard upon most persons convicted. There is only one question for us to ask: Are those penalties appropriate, not are they lenient, since I am persuaded that they are stiff and in keeping with the danger of this type of crime," the deputy federal public prosecutor said.

The main idea which runs through the entire statement by Marko Prijic might be summed up by saying that economic crime is on the rise in our country. Law enforcement agencies and other government agencies cannot do much to prevent this social evil solely through punishment, even though the penalties be excessively severe, unless at the same time there is more vigorous prevention and activity on the part of the bodies of social self-protection. It is no accident that the best results have been achieved in work organizations and indeed entire regions in which the bodies of self-protection have done the job they should be doing.

7045

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## POLEMICS ON 'ENEMY PROPAGANDA' AIRED AT STRUGA MEETING

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 8 Nov 83 pp 9-10

[Article by Natasa Markovic]

[Text] Judging by the number of participants (more than 350) there was a great interest in the Yugoslav Conference of Criminologists, which was held last week in Struga. That is, it was expected that the scholars, professors of criminal law, along with their practitioner colleagues--judges, public prosecutors and investigating judges, would engage in an interesting and socially significant dialogue on the topic: "Yugoslavia's Penal System, Assessment of Current Practice and Future Development." What happened, however, was that in the first plenary meeting a paper by Dr Georgi Marjanovic, visiting professor of criminal law at the School of Law of Skoplje University, concerning political crime in Yugoslavia became the focus of attention and reaction.

Dr Marjanovic suggested doing away with that section of the Yugoslav Criminal Code which has to do with hostile propaganda, above all its second paragraph, which calls for punishment of "malicious and untruthful portrayal of social conditions in the country." The professor also called for political prisoners in penal correctional institutions to be given different treatment from notorious criminals, pleading "for the special status of political offenders," which, as he sees it, has already been won by "our old communists in the jails of old Yugoslavia."

Dr Marjanovic asserted, that is, that political crime in our country is usually a taboo topic, sensitive, problematical and controversial subject matter, so that one is amazed, to put it mildly, by the "lack of interest" shown by criminological theory in the subject matter of political offenses. Scholarship, he feels, ought to have something to say to the legislator and to court practice, not because there are too many such crimes, but above all because this is the subject matter most involved in the speculations of international political propaganda against our country. In the words of Dr Marjanovic, there are sound reasons why we should attempt to deal with the issues of political crime in our country more openly, profoundly and critically. After all, not a single provision of our criminal code should be written in such a way that a man is afraid of saying what he thinks about the problem he confronts. Should we behave otherwise, we could suffer the fate of becoming



a Janus society, people who think one thing and say another, and do yet a third.

"Criminal law should punish outright incitement to violence and unconstitutional activity against Yugoslavia," Dr Marjanovic says. "This is punishable everywhere in the civilized world. For those whom our society as a living organism judges to be ill-intentioned or even malicious, I am deeply convinced, penalties of a moral nature imposed by our self-managing socialist society will be altogether adequate. It is only with the strength of our arguments that we will have an effect on those who think and speak differently and who do not have a malicious intent."

Presenting his conceptions and analyzing our past experiences and the roots of political crime by a strange method and in a polemical tone, the professor from Skoplje also opposed the arguments that the crime of hostile propaganda is actually slander of the state, which, just like an individual, has the right to defend itself against slander.

"I would ask my critics something about the hierarchy of values in a self-managing socialist society. It has always been emphasized on every occasion in our country that the workingman is the highest value of our society. Nothing of the kind has ever been said about the state. If someone slanders an honest workingman, that is, our highest value, the penalty he might get is no greater than 6 months in jail. The penalty for someone who slanders the state goes all the way up to 10 years." Which is why Dr Marjanovic is particularly opposed to the further survival of the crime of "malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country," since it is precisely that provision of the criminal code that accounts for the world picturing us as some kind of totalitarian state which punishes a man even for his convictions, for his attitudes, his opinions and the like. That provision in our law, according to Marjanovic, has caused a great deal of harm over the past 20 years or so, and has brought little benefit.

These and other positions taken by Dr Marjanovic met with harsh criticism which was backed up with arguments. Lazar Raonic, deputy federal public prosecutor from Belgrade, said that there was no justification for the demand that political criminals receive privileged treatment. What, then, is to be said about those individuals who committed crimes out of negligence, about the mother who accidentally left an iron plugged in and caused the death of a child? In arguing for the dignity of political criminals the professor seems to be offering us a lack of confidence in our government bodies, and the comparison with old Yugoslavia and its prisons is unacceptable, to say the least.

"No one in our country has been held accountable solely because he thinks differently about something, no one has been held accountable for his belief, and when this is asserted by a university professor with scholarly authority, then certainly it could lead the ordinary reader astray," Raonic said. "It is also difficult to accept the professor's thesis that all political crises have occurred in our country in the form of crises within the party, just as one can ask whether he has accidentally or intentionally forgotten about the fanatic outbreak of nationalism in 1971?"

Raonic went on to say that Professor Marjanovic's paper abounds in surprises and consternation and even reactionary tendencies, so that it is difficult to accept the points he makes when he openly states what the powerful people in our country are to blame for and what our political opponents are not to blame for. Calling upon the professor to have a greater sense of responsibility, he stressed that it was not possible to accept either the thesis that the LCY is an apathetic force nor the demand for an amendment to reform our criminal code. Hostile propaganda, the message of Lazar Raonic is clear, is food for the spirit and a weapon of enemies of our system and of the opposition with which they hope to win over the "misguided people."

Dr Vladimir Kambovski, professor in Skoplje, was somewhat less severe in his remarks. He said that it was fitting to extend the discussion at this conference to political crimes, but that it was difficult to accept Marjanovic's thesis that we are responsible for our own crime rate. The demand for special treatment of political offenders is also unacceptable, since punishment is individualized in our penal institutions, and one can no longer go any further than that. The slandering of social conditions cannot be reduced solely to slandering the state and to defense by those who represent it, but also extends to social relations as a whole.

Bora Nikolic, judge in the Federal Court in Belgrade, remarked that there are good quotations and thoughts in the paper and accurate observations. However, the paper as a whole pursues the point that everyone in this country is to blame for the fact that we have political offenders.

"I do not see what is scientific and useful to practice in this paper," Nikolic said, calling for participants in the conference to distance themselves from the paper and asking himself how it was possible for it to have been included in the official material of the conference? Dr Jovan Buturovic, colonel, professor, and judge of the Supreme Military Court in Belgrade and the acting chairman of the meeting, calmed down the atmosphere which to some extent became heated because other worthwhile topics had not been dealt with.

"Although I do not agree," he said, "with certain of Dr Marjanovic's points, I cannot stand here and say that I doubt his good intentions. Freedom of thought also means the right to hold a mistaken opinion. The topic of political crime and hostile propaganda is not and should not be a 'taboo topic,' especially in a society which has inscribed on its banners: 'Nothing is so sacred that it cannot be superseded.' Nor do I agree with the protests; I would rather have a well-argued dialogue among specialists in criminal law. A paper by Dr Ljuba Bavcon, professor from Ljubljana, was also received on the same topic during the conference.

Dr Bavcon says that there are "cases" which are treated as hostile propaganda in court practice and which arouse suspicion as to correct application of Article 133 of the criminal code (that is, Article 118 of the 1951 Criminal Code). I am convinced, Bavcon went on to say, that effective protection of our internal system and the country's security does not require or justify the use of those means which in our recent history we have rejected on at least two occasions: in the National Liberation Struggle and in our conflict with Stalinism.

"Objective responsibility in this area opens up the possibility of criminal prosecution of people exercising the right to freedom of thought and choice, which is a human right and a right guaranteed by the constitution, including all kinds of public expression," Dr Bavcon said. "These rights must, of course, be limited, but only when it is a case of their being objectively and subjectively abused. Such crimes must not become an incrimination of the freedom of critical thought."

The true judgment, but not the only one, of the proposal of Dr Marjanovic and Dr Bavcon that the article in dispute of the Yugoslav Criminal Code be repealed, will be rendered first of all by those familiar with criminal law, by the professors, judges and prosecutors. However, it was obvious that a considerable portion of the line of argument which Dr Marjanovic and Dr Bavcon offered to support their proposals was not accepted.

In the end the dialogue was postponed, since, as Dr Vladan Vasiljevic said in concluding this conference, this is a topic on the agenda which must be discussed with more arguments and more seriously.

7045

CSO: 2800/92

## BRIEFS

UROSEVAC EXPULSION--Sulj Caljaj, director of the Workers University in Urosevac, was removed from his position after 16 years for illegally attempting to retain his position over workers' objections, opposing the opstina LC and employment office on allocating jobs to young specialists in opstina work organizations, inflating personal incomes at the university, and falsifying financial records. Milos Milicevic, professor of history at the university, was named acting director. [Summary] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 21 Nov 83 p 2]

DECANI ENEMY GROUP--Three Albanians in Decani have been sentenced to 60 days in prison for having formed an enemy group in April of this year to write and print hostile material. According to the report, they planned to kill a member of SUP (Secretariat for Internal Affairs) and then flee to Albania. Their group also included a minor who was the "son of the well-known enemy Smailj Hajredinaj who was sentenced last year to 14 years. This minor was also sentenced to 15 days in prison last year for crossing illegally into Albania." [Summary] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 24 Nov 83 p 8]

DEFENSE TRAINING CENTER--Construction has begun on a nation-wide defense and social self-protection training and instruction center in Ajvalija near Pristina, said to be the first facility of this kind in the province. The center which will house 100 students and cost 80 million dinars is expected to be finished by 29 November 1984. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 3 Nov 83 p 1]

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